

# THE Canadian FORUM

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## Piecemeal Policies

►JUST ONE hundred years ago Abraham Lincoln opened his "House Jurdeil" speech with the declaration: "If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending we could better judge what to do and how to do it." This could well be taken as an admonition to the present government in Ottawa, which appears to be divided and confused about the nature and size of the economic recession which it confronts.

The Prime Minister has on occasion sounded like a man in a panic, when nothing less than broad emergency measures would do to head off a coming crisis of unemployment; the Minister of Finance on the other hand has given several public assurances that all is well, and that the situation calls only for a few modest recitations from R. B. Bennett's dictionary of fiscal orthodoxy. From this wide disparity of views and from all the intermediate shades of opinion voiced by cabinet ministers, has emerged a series of stopgap measures which do not add up to a coherent policy. Indeed it is doubtful if the government has a coherent view of the situation on which to base a coherent policy.

The stopgap nature of the government's legislation is nowhere more apparent than in the handling of budgetary matters. Mr. Fleming's predecessor calculated that his spring budget would produce a surplus of about \$150 millions in the year ending March 31 next. Since then the Conservatives have introduced some half-dozen measures to increase spending and two or three others to cut taxes. They have also announced that the former Liberal government's practice of tucking part of its surplus away in one or two spots reserved for *aficionados* of government financing, will be dropped. The upshot of all these changes—some of which are fairly consequential from the budget point of view—is anything but clear. Some of the changes such as the 2½ per cent reduction in the excise tax on cars, took effect when they were announced, while others are effective at January 1st. Mr. Fleming has given the approximate cost of most of his budgetary adjustments, piecemeal fashion, and mainly with reference to the current fiscal year. But there has been no overall statement of the net effect of the Conservative program in a full fiscal year. If account is taken of the probable decline in tax revenues attributable to declining business conditions, it seems likely that the budget is actually heading for a deficit. This may very well be desirable, but the public is completely in the dark as to the government's intentions. Do business conditions warrant deficit financing? If so, how big a deficit? Or does Mr. Fleming propose to balance the budget no matter what? Until he gives the country a proper budget, he is selling the electorate a pig in a poke. Surely it is incumbent on a new government to give a financial account of itself, especially since the economy as well as the government has changed direction since the spring of 1957.

While the lack of budgetary coherence is unwelcome, what is more disturbing is the trend toward piecemeal and sectional economic legislation, aimed at propping up particular industries in areas for the time being, and until something turns up. One instance is the proposal to subsidize steam plants in the Maritimes, and another is the decision to subsidize a base metal mine in British Columbia to keep it from closing. Neither of these measures fits into any recognized framework of policy or principle. Power development in the Maritimes is to be fostered whether or not it fits into a national fuel policy, and without reference to the most economic location of new industries in the country as a whole. Assistance for one base metal mine is being extended without reference to its implications for other marginal mines or for that matter other marginal producers of any kind. Does the government seriously propose to go to the rescue of every firm that gets into difficulties? What about the little woollen mills in the Ottawa valley? What will be done for the small appliance shop which can't sell enough TV sets to keep going? If a copper mine can be subsidized, why not the others? If size is the criterion will it be the number of employees or the capital employed? Or the number of Tory voters in the constituency?

The government is drifting into the sort of discretionary policies which have been employed for so many years in Quebec, and for which the only broad underlying principle is: Reward your friends and punish your enemies. Last June the Conservatives made an issue of the supremacy of parliament. Who is going to make an issue of The Rule of Law—one law—applied equally to all Canadians?

Before the Conservative government appeals to the electorate for a working majority, it had better start working on a coherent set of principles, and produce some legislation that puts them in practice. Otherwise it may find itself with more horses than there are oats.

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## *Current Comment*

### Straws in the Wind, Dogs in the Sky, and Other Portents

The Sputniks, followed by the failure of the Vanguard missile test, the Republicans' poor showing in off-year elections, the President's mild stroke, and the signs of economic recession have led the news commentators and publicists on whom we all depend for our understanding of the national scene to conclude that the American people are in a state of panic and of profound disaffection with the Eisenhower Administration. But one has learned to be suspicious of newsmen's pontifications about the public mood. Often they project their own feelings onto the public for the purpose of prodding the politicians into action. Persuaded that hysterical anxiety is sweeping the country, government officials then proceed to issue soothing statements which take the edge off the initial shock of events. The alarmist cries and the answering assurances neutralize each other and no coherent mood manages to crystallize.

It is hard for ordinary people to grasp the significance of the Sputniks and the missile race with the Soviet Union. They have been told for so long by Mr. Dulles and others that Communism is on the verge of crumbling that they are not disposed to take the Russians' recent technical achievements very seriously. There is no evidence that the country has been paying attention to the present Senate hearings on the missile program with anything remotely approaching the tense expectancy with which the 1951 hearings on General MacArthur's dismissal were followed.

Republican political fortunes look pretty black. The President's lack of forcefulness in publicizing his "Modern Republicanism" and his failure consistently to reward intra-party friends and punish enemies are making it more and more evident that the old split in the Republican party lingers on, discouraging many voters. At the moment the Sputniks have silenced the conservative Republicans in Congress who, temporarily at least, have had their favorite issues of government spending and tax cuts downgraded in importance. Several Republican Senators have announced that they will not run for re-election in 1958, which increases the probability of substantial Democratic gains next year in Congress. The capable performances of Democratic Senators Jackson, Mansfield, and Lyndon Johnson in attacking the Administration for its hesitations on the missile program are not likely to reduce the attractions of maintaining divided party control over Congress and the White House.

Eisenhower's stroke has evoked salvos of "I told you so" from liberal commentators and suggestions that he should resign have even come from some who supported him in 1956. But why should anyone who swallowed the two-humped camel of a heart attack and ileitis now strain at the gnat of a mild stroke which incapacitated the President for barely twenty-four hours?

I think it is a mistake to explain Eisenhower's electoral successes by picturing him as a "father image" to the American people whom they expect to handle all problems with firmness and dispatch. His golfing, his frequent vacations, the details of his two serious illnesses, and his tendency to delegate responsibility had all been well-publicized before the 1956 election. His lethargic demeanor in the

Presidency and his dogged, earnest moralism give him precisely the non-political aura which expresses the mood of the electorate at the present time. With the Democrats controlling Congress and shrewd politicians and square-jawed administrators like Nixon and Adams close to the centres of power, few people begrudge the President his easy-going pace or worry about his poor health. He could probably be elected again if an election were held this month.

Yet if the Sputniks have as yet sent only a tremor through the public, their presence in the sky and the increasing signs that the great boom has ended seem destined to create a restlessness that the country hasn't experienced since the end of the Korean War. And when this communicates itself to the politicians a long-overdue re-examination of American foreign policy is likely to be its most important consequence.

D.H.W.

### Drift

On the day after the end of the meeting of the leaders of the North Atlantic Alliance, one thing is already clear. In its main purpose it has failed. It has not restored the nerve and confidence of public opinion. It was for this purpose that President Eisenhower, after a bewildering re-appraisal of his condition by the White House physicians, decided to go to Paris so soon after his recent illness. But the Paris meeting, by placing on public view the collective leadership of the Alliance, served to heighten rather than diminish the spreading impression that at this critical juncture the West is desperately short of the most needed of all resources, imaginative and persuasive statesmen. A really rousing speech, an eloquent and enthusiastic call to action, could profitably have been exchanged for a dozen missile bases in Western Europe. Not one of the fourteen heads of government present (the dictator of Portugal stayed away) could rise to this occasion. President Eisenhower, full of courage and anti-coagulant, did his best. Indeed, it was from him that came such few flickering charismatic sparks as were in evidence. In an important gloss to the legal obligation of NATO membership he promised the members of the Alliance that if any one of them were attacked "the United States would come, at once and with all appropriate force, to [its] assistance". But the listening world paid less attention to his message than to whether he slurred its delivery.

The state of the President's health continues to overshadow the *malaise* of NATO itself. After the first day,

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following two speeches of ten and twenty minutes respectively and a round of diplomatic activity which, though strenuous, is normal for the calling, the President felt tired. He passed up a State Banquet and went to bed, in spite of the publicity which had previously (and foolishly) been given to his intention of going to all social as well as political functions. "Tell them", he instructed the incomparable Hagerty, "I am a nine or ten o'clock boy tonight". A shiver of apprehension ran through the Conference and out into the world. Next day came reassurance. The President had awoken refreshed and was back on the job. So he was. But what kind of leadership was this? It was hard to resist the comparison between the American leader, gamely struggling with his physique, and the ebullient Mr. Khrushchev, haranguing his Party Congress for three hours flat, pausing to take on caviar and vodka before returning for a second session. This discrepancy in the stamina of leadership seemed to many to be a symbol no less ominous than the discrepancy in the performance of their rocketry of the drift and disunity of the West and of the vitality and purposefulness of the post-*sputnik* Soviets. Never was there a greater need for the smaller members of the Alliance to take charge. It was the hour for a Branting, a Briand, a Politis. They, of course, are dead. And, it seems, their species is extinct.

The launching of the first artificial satellite, Sputnik 1, heralded a new era in the study of the atmosphere above us, and, to some extent, of the earth below. It is still impossible to predict the full potential of the satellite technique, but certain implications are quite clear and some information has been gained already from measurements made on Sputnik 1 itself.

## Science and the Satellite

This pioneer satellite was essentially a pathfinder. Its primary function was to provide readily-identified radio signals by means of which it could be tracked as it passed over different regions of the earth's surface in succession. In this capacity, it has been of value to all observers who cared to monitor and analyse its signals.

Some new geophysical information is available even from this simple tracking procedure. Friction between the satellite and the tenuous gases in which it moves causes the satellite to spiral gradually inward towards the earth, and results in a slowly decreasing period of time between successive circuits. The tracking program yields a measure of this decrease, and this in turn provides a measure of atmospheric density in regions which were formerly beyond our reach. The regions concerned are of particular interest, for they come close to the dividing line between an atmosphere dominated by the earth's gravitational field and one which, however rarified, is probably dominated by gasses ejected from the sun.

A second point of immediate interest is the gradual shifting of the orbit in space. This shifting results from the oblateness of the earth — from the fact that the earth is not perfectly spherical in shape — and it therefore contains information about the true shape. This information is of extreme value in the accurate mapping of our globe.

Again, the radio signals which were transmitted from Sputnik 1 were deflected slightly by their passage through the ionized regions of our upper atmosphere. These regions control almost all forms of long distance radio communications, and further insight into their behavior can lead to improvements in the communications systems we employ. Detailed study of the satellite's signals will help to provide this insight.

Sputniks I and II are only precursors of satellites still to come, and these later satellites will undoubtedly be highly

instrumented. They will be able to gain on-the-spot information, as it were, and send this information back to earth by radio. Such a technique has already been employed with considerable success in rocket researches, but with the handicap that the measurements could be made only for the few minutes that each rocket remained aloft. Even then, the results from a single rocket applied only to a very limited region of the earth in the neighbourhood of the launching site.

Satellites are not likely to supersede rockets as vehicles for upper atmospheric research, but they will certainly extend both the range and the time over which a useful series of observations can be made. They will reach greater heights than those normally attained by research rockets, and measurements which pertain directly to those heights will provide an outstanding contribution to scientific advance. One may expect to derive new information about the constituent molecules of the outer atmosphere, about the distant portions of the earth's magnetic field, about solar radiation, micrometeorites, primary cosmic rays, and a whole host of other phenomena that have been difficult, if not impossible, to observe from the ground.

Speculations of this type are easily made, by simple inference from research that has gone before. But perhaps the most exciting speculation of all arises from the fact that, at this early stage, we cannot hope to appreciate the full potential of so young a technique: entirely new and unexpected fields of scientific study may be unfolded by its proper development.

C. O. HINES.

## Dominion-Provincial Conference

It was essentially an agenda conference similar to that called by the Liberal Administration in April 1955 to hear the provinces' proposals for the main Conference the following October. And, precisely as in '55, the provinces made the most of an opportunity to recite their tales of woe and need that, but for the change of government in June, they could not have expected to do again until at least 1960. Not only was it an unanticipated opportunity, but it provided a new audience at the head table, new listeners who had already committed themselves to greater attentiveness to the provinces' pleas. Small wonder that the provinces quickly rang up \$1½ billions in demands from the federal cash register.

Why, then, the reaction of surprise among the Dominion representatives to the magnitude of the requests, capped by Finance Minister Fleming's belated warning that the Dominion's purse was "necessarily limited"? In the election campaign, and since, the provinces had been led to believe otherwise, and can therefore be forgiven their exuberance.

As the new cabinet retires from the arena to contemplate its strategy for the main event, a Conference promised early in the new year, several facts must take priority in their considerations: the permanence and near-irreducibility of the bulk of the present commitments in the national budget; the strength of public opinion on the necessity of reducing taxes; the growing demands on government to assist the private sector of the economy; the lack of justification for deficit financing at this time.

They will also be guided by the old axiom that political responsibility for taxes follows the party, or government, that collects them, a lesson not unknown to provincial politicians demanding increased shares of taxes collected by the national government.

The choices before the government are becoming more difficult and unattractive, as it becomes necessary to direct more attention to the sources that finance the give-away programs, and it can be no comfort that the problems are in large part of its own making.

The decisions of the government respecting the fiscal "re-arrangements" will not only shape the pattern of Dominion-Provincial relations for years to come but will also provide the most crucial test of the new government's ability to govern responsibly. It is imperative that the new arrangements be concluded immediately so that their financial implications for the national treasury can be properly assessed before the next election.

## Canadian Calendar

- Diplomatic appointments (Nov. 15): Charles Ritchie, Canada's permanent representative to the UN with rank of ambassador; Escott Reid, ambassador to West Germany; Robert Mackay, ambassador to Norway and Minister to Iceland; Chester Ronning, High Commissioner to India.
- The Crown and Industrial Development Bank announced on Nov. 15 a reduction of  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent in its interest rate to 6 per cent from  $6\frac{1}{2}$ .
- More than 450,000 additional bank accounts were opened by Canadians during the year ending Sept. 30.
- Dividend payments by Canadian companies in the first 11 months of 1957 were 14 per cent above those of 1956.
- The Rev. Derwyn Randolph Grier Owen has been appointed Provost of Trinity College, Toronto, to succeed the late Provost Seeley.
- The number of men and women applying for jobs in Canada was 77 per cent greater on Oct. 17, 1957 than on that date in 1956, according to the Labor Department.
- The percentage of Canada's population living on farms dropped to 17.1 in 1956 from 20.8 in 1951 and 27.4 in 1941.
- Finance Minister Fleming's monthly financial statement for November showed tax revenue down by one-half to 1 per cent in October and by 3.6 per cent for the seven months April 1 to Oct. 31.
- Exports of Canadian products rose in the first nine months of 1957 1.5 per cent to a record \$3,570,100,000 from \$3,518,100,000 last year.
- An 8-page sketch-book bought by a citizen of Victoria, B.C. for a small sum at an auction sale turns out to be a collection of works by the Spanish painter Francisco Goya and may be worth \$415,000, according to a German art expert.
- The Dominion-Provincial Conference on Fiscal Arrangements opened at Ottawa on Nov. 25. Prime Minister Diefenbaker offered the provinces and municipalities a 6-point program of "fringe benefits."
- On Nov. 26, the Dominion-Provincial Conference accepted in principle three of the "fringe benefits" offered by Prime Minister Diefenbaker: (1) a start on the national hospital insurance schemes earlier than the original Jan. 1, 1959 target date; (2) special federal grants-in-aid in addition to all payments now being made to the four Atlantic provinces worth about \$25,000,000 a year; (3) unqualified federal sharing of direct unemployment relief at an estimated additional cost to the Dominion treasury in the next year of \$11,500,000.
- Saskatchewan's 3000th oil well was completed in October. It is estimated that the province's crude oil production this year should reach a value of \$66,000,000, almost double that of 1956.
- Prime Minister Diefenbaker gave notice on Dec. 7 that he will ask the Commons to repeal the rule of closure.
- The flow of Canadian beef cattle to U.S. markets, said to be about 100 times greater than last year, may be checked by a tariff boost of 1 cent a pound ordered by the U.S. Treasury.
- Canada's three highest-paid diplomats on service outside this country are the Ambassadors to France, NATO and the United States. Their salaries amount to \$16,000 a year (allowances ranging from \$13,320 to \$22,376 are extra).
- Capital inflow into Canada in the third quarter of 1957 declined by more than one-half to \$134,000,000 from \$306,000,000 in the corresponding period of 1956. Main reason was a falling-off in proceeds of new issues of Canadian securities sold abroad.
- Works Minister Green announced on Dec. 4 in the Commons that amendments to the National Housing Act would be introduced to reduce the down payment and the amount of income required to carry homes built with NHA loans.
- Canada's consumer price index declined one-tenth of a point to 123.3 at the start of November from a record 123.4 in October — the first drop this year.
- Reduced purchases from the U.S. cut the October trade deficit with that country to \$69,000,000 from \$109,000,000 last year. The deficit in the 10 months fell \$100,900,000 to \$992,300,000 from \$1,093,200,000 a year ago.
- Prices of Canadian bonds during November recorded the sharpest rise of any month in several years.
- Finance Minister Fleming announced on Dec. 6 reduction in personal income taxes, cuts in the taxes on all but the smallest corporations and a moderate reduction of the luxury tax on cars.
- Sir Edmund Wyly Grier, noted Canadian portrait-painter, died in Toronto on Dec. 7 at the age of 95. He was the first Canadian to be knighted for his work in art.
- House-building, stimulated by the additional \$150,000,000 of mortgage money made available for lower-cost housing under the National Housing Act picked up smartly after lagging severely last winter and in November was 63 per cent greater than in the same month of 1956.
- November operations of the Canadian steel industry showed a further decline to an average rate of 76.4 per cent of 1957 rated capacity. For the seventh consecutive month, production fell below last year's level.
- Appointment of a commission, headed by President Andrew Stewart of the University of Alberta, with the widest authority to investigate price spreads on farm and sea products was announced on Dec. 10 by Prime Minister Diefenbaker.
- For the fourth consecutive year dividend payments by Canadian companies for 1957 are at a record high. The total of \$772,959,865 is an increase of 8 per cent over the previous peak of \$668,680,599 in 1956.
- Lester Pearson, former External Affairs Minister for Canada, received the Nobel Peace Prize at Oslo on Dec. 10 and on Dec. 11 delivered a lecture at Oslo University on "The Four Faces of Peace" — peace and trade, peace and power, peace and policy, peace and people.
- External Affairs Minister Smith said on Dec. 11 in the House of Commons that the latest Russian proposals on world problems deserve careful study.
- Prime Minister Diefenbaker and Defense Minister Pearkes left Ottawa by air on Dec. 11 for the NATO meeting of heads of government in Paris.

- On Dec. 16 the chairman of the Board of Governors of the University of Toronto announced the appointment of Dr. Claude Thomas Bissell as new president of the university, to succeed Dr. Sidney Smith who resigned to become Canada's Minister for External Affairs. Dr. Bissell, who is president of Carleton University in Ottawa, will assume his new post on July 1, 1958. Before going to Carleton University he occupied the post of vice-president of the University of Toronto. He is 41 years of age.
- Diplomatic Appointments (Dec. 13): Arthur Menzies, Canada's first high commissioner to the new Federation of Malaya; Nik Cavell, high commissioner to Ceylon; James Hurley, high commissioner to the Union of South Africa; George Heasman, high commissioner to New Zealand; Benjamin Rogers, ambassador to Turkey; Paul Beaulieu, chargé d'affaires in Beirut, Lebanon; William Oliver, commissioner to the International Supervisory Commission in Indo-China.
- A B.C. Centennial Committee has been formed in Victoria to organize the large-scale celebration of the 100th birthday of British Columbia in 1958 which will include, besides the Festival of the Arts in Vancouver, all kinds of sports and cultural events throughout the province.
- Profits of corporations in Canada, receding from their record high levels of last year, showed a decline of 5.3 per cent before taxes in the second quarter of 1957 from a year earlier.

• A high-level Canadian trade delegation will visit the United Kingdom at an early date to investigate means of stimulating Canadian purchases in Britain of goods now imported into this country from non-Commonwealth sources.

• Canadian living costs rose sharply to a new high in August, continuing a steady series of six monthly advances that began last March. The consumer price index, pushed up mainly by higher food costs, rose seven-tenths of a point to 123.3 from 122.6 in July.

## Commons Comment

### D. M. Fisher

►ON NOVEMBER 26th the Honourable Sydney E. Smith, Secretary of State for External Affairs, began a showing in the Commons that may damn him, perhaps for good, as an effective Minister. The dwarfing of this seeming intellectual giant has been done by the Ottawa Press Corps, not by the Members of the House of Commons, not by his logical foil, the Honourable Lester Pearson.

To a graduate of Toronto, Smith's apparent failure is hard to understand. In recent years, Varsity's size has militated against any real appreciation by the student body of their President, but there was a general impression of an able, ingratiating man of many words. Often the words



were long, the sentence tortuous, the manner pompous — asterisks of learning scattered throughout. The smile was hearty, wholesomely so; the wave of the hand and the dress were modern, almost undergraduate. The annual reports were impressive, if repetitive, marching regularly along the virtues of the humanities and the social sciences, and the nature of the university crisis in our time. Was this all a front? Was our ex-President a phony? My personal judgment is that he was not. If his had been a mere surface showing as university President, he would have been cunning enough to present a different exterior to the House of Commons. Perhaps it is his very complete, hundred per cent sincerity that has tripped Dr. Smith. Certainly he has not used urbanity or an oozing good will to make his way.

A typical paragraph in Mr. Smith's first major speech was as follows:—

"I know the people of this country are indeed interested in the foreign policy of Canada, our actions and policies in the field of External Affairs, and I also know that other governments are equally interested in the actions and policies of this Government. We have been considering in this House, and we shall be considering in this House, matters of great moment which might be described as domestic or national. I am not discounting in any measure the importance and significance of these matters when I observe that the solution of the grave problems which confront the nations of the world in 1957 has a practical bearing on the health and happiness of Canada."

That is, Mr. Smith meant our external affairs were important to us. Such very woolly "flannel" went on and on for an hour. The Press Gallery emptied, the House began to murmur small talk the way it does when bores or back-benchers are at work. This was partly the lack of bombastic technique. After all, such innocuous, fulsome meanderings have been the staple of John Diefenbaker for seventeen years. But the Prime Minister has had the bombast. Lester Pearson completed the sad gentlemanly show by following along with another parade of Canadian foreign policy platitudes. The Press began to sharpen its knives.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs had two meetings within the next ten days. Most veterans of the Press Gallery were present. Mr. Smith's answers under questioning were fuzzy. Repeatedly came the reply, "I cannot answer that". He was on the spot, and uninformed about the North American military arrangements between the United States and Canada. He made some remarks which seemed to indicate his government was tired of American rejection of all Soviet overtures. At the following meeting he attempted to put a "gloss" on some of his remarks, admitting a mistaken emphasis which had given an out-of-context importance to certain views that might be taken as a criticism of United States foreign policy. Later, with complete lack of side, he said in referring to an answer about military command matters by General Pearkes, "I forgot the answer; I was not in the House. I was in the gallery. Perhaps that is where I should have stayed."

This "new" boy's modesty drew bitter scorn from veteran writers like Frank Swanson and Judith Robinson. The general press tone very quickly approximated the House reaction. This man would not be a diplomatic front-runner for Canada.

Excuses are being made: the senior officials have been blamed; an over-dependence on the P.M. has been suggested; a prudently slow development of facility has been heralded. This last may be true. Somehow Mr. Smith

gives the impression of someone who grasps his material slowly.

One old parliamentarian who had said that the minister made the worst show before a committee in his memory, remarked after noting Smith's blinking passivity during Diefenbaker's report to the House on the NATO conference that "the man seems outside of his situation."

One way he could work into it would be to parrot for a time the advice of his officials, if he can remember it. A wan heart-sickness fills many an External Affairs officer now as the green memory of the last minister gets a lengthier season.

One paradoxical assessment persists. Many M.P.'s figure Pearson may come a like cropper in the political field as Liberal leader. As Prime Minister, Mr. Pearson would have his present rival, Mr. Martin, as External Affairs material — not a frightening possibility. Unless Mr. Smith regains stature quickly his weak performance will be exposed on the hustings by the enemy. It could be a real factor in a recapture of Liberal prestige, so stricken since June 10th.

Both Mr. Diefenbaker and Mr. Smith have been so imprecise in defining any Canadian position distinct from the American — something Pearson could do well — that the Liberals could capitalize on the antipathy current to the Dulles-Eisenhower line.

Perhaps a thought for those of us who expected, even feared, a great Smith performance, is that genius is differentiated, not embracing. An excellent university president is not a sure bet in other fields even if speechifying and greeting are common. And what the university world thinks now would be of interest in light of Mr. Smith's disclaimer to the External Affairs Committee that he was Mr. Smith now: "after all, all my doctorates are phony."

## Middle East Oil Today

*F. R. C. Bagley*

SECOND OF THREE ARTICLES

► BEFORE THE EVENTS of 1956, west-bound oil from the M.E. passed through the Suez Canal at the rate of about 60-70m. tons p.a., with tankers providing over two-thirds of the Canal's income; while over 24m. tons p.a. from Kirkuk and Mosul in Iraq and over 15m. tons p.a. from Sa'udi Arabia were pumped through pipelines which cross Syria to the Mediterranean.

It became evident two or three years ago that vast savings in oil transport costs can be achieved through the use of very large tankers, displacing anything between 50,000 and 100,000 tons. The Suez Canal cannot accommodate fully laden vessels displacing more than 30,000 tons. Deepening of the Canal to accommodate mammoth tankers would be tremendously expensive. A more economical, though still costly, solution would be to build pipelines across the isthmus with unloading, loading and storage installations at each end. The Canal Company had agreed in its revised contract of 1949 both to increase its payments to Egypt and to carry out certain widening and by-passing projects, but with its concession due to expire in 1968 it could not have been expected to finance the developments needed by the oil industry. Nor could Egypt, an overpopulated country where capital is scarce, be expected to do so. If political relations were normal, the capital would doubtless be forthcoming from the oil industry or other western sources, and agreement with Egypt ought to be attainable without too much difficulty; but Col. Nasir's diplomatic alignment with Russia, his repudiation of the Canal concession and the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt have destroyed the mutual con-

fidence necessary for so great an undertaking. Last June, Mr. Aristotle Onassis, a multi-millionaire owner of Panama-flag tankers, proposed to finance a trans-isthmian pipeline, but the Egyptian government rejected his offer. Another possibility would be a pipeline across Israel from the Gulf of Aqaba to the Mediterranean; but Iraq has made clear that such a scheme would mean the end of the Baghdad Pact, and both Iran and Britain have concurred.

It seems that, if mammoth tankers are used, freight costs from the Persian Gulf to Europe via Capetown will only be fractionally higher than those via Suez, allowing for the probable tolls on any trans-isthmian pipeline. The British Petroleum Co. has announced that it intends to ship oil from Kuwait via the Cape in future. Sa'udi Arabia, like Kuwait, possesses a deep-water terminal on the Gulf, at Ras Tanura; but Iran and Iraq as yet do not. The Shatt al-Arab river is only kept open by continuous and costly dredging of the bar across its mouth. On the Iranian side of the river lies the world's largest refinery, at Abadan; but Iran possesses another terminal at Bandar Mashhur, up an inlet with deeper water to the east, and the consortium is to build a new terminal on the Gulf at a place called Ganaveh. On the Iraqi side lies Fao, terminal of the Basra fields (now producing about 12m. tons p.a.). The Iraqis desire that a deep-water terminal shall be created on Iraqi territory; but the most likely site, Umm Qasr, lies up an inlet which may not be deep enough and at a point where the frontier with Kuwait is in dispute. On technical grounds, a terminal in Kuwaiti territory would be the best solution, but there are political difficulties between Kuwait and Iraq which will be discussed later.

From the purely economical standpoint, construction of new pipelines to the Mediterranean would almost certainly be preferable to shipment from the Persian Gulf, whether via Suez or via Capetown. The Transarabian (TAP) line from Sa'udi Arabia to Sidon in the Lebanon proved a paying concern even before the days of mammoth tankers. Iraq's most important field, Kirkuk, and the small Mosul fields have their sole outlets through a pipeline to Baniyas in Syria (14m. tons p.a.) and through two pipelines to Tripoli in the Lebanon (6m. tons p.a.). Before 1948 there was also an outlet at Haifa in Palestine (2m. tons p.a.). A second Kirkuk-Haifa pipeline (4m. tons p.a.) was nearly but not quite finished in 1948. Late in 1955, the I.P.C. group reached agreement with the Syrian government on a large increase in the transit dues payable to that government in respect of the existing pipelines (from \$1.8 to \$17 p.a.), on a plan to build a third pipeline to Tripoli and on a plan to divert the disused southern pipelines from Jordan through Syria to a new terminal to be built at Sidon (thus giving Jordan a much needed share of oil transit revenue). The then Lebanese government claimed, however, that it should receive dues equal to those to be paid in Syria. The TAP line also agreed to pay increased transit dues and suggested that the Syrians and Lebanese should agree among themselves on the division of the dues between them. The Lebanese claims brought about a deadlock which had not been solved by the time of the Israeli and Anglo-French invasions of Egypt.

Following these, Syrian troops adhering to the pro-Russian Arab Resurrection (Ba'th) party and acting (it is said) without the knowledge of the President of the Syrian Republic, blew up the I.P.C. pumping stations in Syrian territory and also one on the disused pipelines in Jordanian territory (which part of the Syrian army had entered purportedly to help Jordan defend itself against any Israeli aggression). As a reprisal against Britain and France, the Syrians need only have switched off the pumps, as the Sa'udis did in the

case of the submarine pipe which carries part of ARAMCO's output to a refinery in the British-protected island of Bahrain. The Syrian deed was aimed primarily against pro-Western Iraq. The Syrian and Egyptian press, and Col. Nasir in a speech, lyingly declared that Iraq had been pumping oil to Haifa, when they knew full well that by keeping the southern pipelines closed since 1948 Iraq and Jordan have sacrificed enormous revenues. The damage caused by the deed to Iraq's economy was less than intended, because the Iraqi Development Board had a substantial unspent balance in hand, and none of the development works had to be stopped; but the destruction was so thorough that even now repairs have not been completed and the full throughput from Kirkuk has not been restored.

The I.P.C. resumed work in Syria last March, refraining abjectly from any claim for assurances of future security or compensation for the damage suffered. The present Lebanese government would gladly compromise on the question of transit dues if the I.P.C. would reactivate its projects for new pipelines to Tripoli and Sidon. But no Western oil company shows willingness to invest in pipelines across Syria when that country's government has committed itself so thoroughly to Russia.

Last May, representatives of the "major" oil companies meeting in London discussed plans for pipelines to carry Sa'udi, Kuwaiti, Iranian and Iraqi oil across Iraq and Turkey to a Turkish Mediterranean port such as Mersin. Such a route would be longer, more mountainous and much more costly than that through Syria, and could only be justified on political grounds. The companies came up against the veto of Iraq. Although faithful to its alliance with Turkey and Iran through the Baghdad Pact, Iraq is an Arab state and moreover desires and needs eventually to bring about some sort of Fertile Crescent unity (federation with Syria, Jordan and Lebanon). The Iraqis stipulated that Arab oil must be piped to Arab ports. They would probably not object in principle to oil from southern Iran being piped across their country to Turkey, though in the past they have been reluctant to grant facilities for expansion of Iranian output while Iraqi output stood still.

Another suggestion, affecting only Iraq, is that a pipeline should be laid from Kirkuk to the Persian Gulf, assuming that the problem of a marine terminal can be solved. The Syrian government would thus be deprived of its present power to strangle Iraq's economy and development by closing the sole outlets of Iraq's principal oilfield. Such a scheme would, however, be quite uneconomic: the distance from Kirkuk to the Gulf is about 500 miles as against 550 miles from Kirkuk to the Mediterranean.

A third suggestion has come from King Sa'ud. This is that new pipelines through Syria to the Mediterranean should be jointly built and owned by the oil-producing Arab states. The King's idea is that the Syrian government would be less likely to destroy or nationalize pipelines owned by sister states than pipelines owned by imperialist oil companies. But as the Syrian deed a year ago was directed primarily against Iraq, the argument does not seem well founded. It would indeed be desirable if some of Sa'udi Arabia's wealth were to be thus remuneratively invested rather than squandered on royal palaces and gold-plated Cadillacs. The Iraqis have replied truthfully to King Sa'ud that they need their money for their great national development plan.

The position concerning pipelines to the Mediterranean thus appears to have reached a deadlock, and emphasis is likely to be laid henceforward on shipment via the Cape. Cold war politics have made investment in Syria and Egypt too risky. On general grounds, however, it is desirable that

capital should be invested in overpopulated Egypt and in impoverished Jordan, which historically and culturally forms part of Syria and ought, were it not for the Cold War, to be amalgamated with Syria. Moreover the majority of public opinion in both Syria and Egypt is opposed to communism, and such investment might help to wean away the Syrian and Egyptian governments from their present anti-Western policies. These questions are extraordinarily complex, because they involve the problem of Arab unity and also the problem of the uses to which oil revenues are put and for which they are needed by the present revenue-receiving states. This latter problem will form the subject of another article.

## The War in Algeria

*Patricia van der Esch*

► IN THE COMPETITION between East and West which is coexistence, the role of the under-developed areas in Africa and Asia is of primary importance. Let us not be deflected from this issue by sputniks, intercontinental missiles and the fear of war. What will be the future of the Western world if the rulers of these two continents link themselves to the Russian orbit? The war in Algeria has to be considered in this perspective. Unless French policy alters radically, Algeria will continue to be a festering sore which drains France financially, weakens her as an Atlantic ally, and discredits the western powers by proving to Africans, Arabs and Asians alike that imperialism dies hard.

The French Assembly has finally passed the 'skeleton law' for Algeria which was described by Mr. Lafonse in the *Forum* for November. The Front National Algerian (FLN) refuses to negotiate on the basis of the 'skeleton law' unless the principle of independence is recognized first by the French. Here the situation remains at a deadlock. It is for this reason that M. Bourguiba and Sultan V offered their good offices as mediators. The French government has refused the initial offer by reiterating their opposition to Algerian independence.

For the past three years, French policy has been an unsatisfactory compromise between negotiating with the rebel leaders and waging a civil and racial war. There is no clear majority in France for either policy. It must be admitted from the outset that the French population in Algeria, numbering one million two hundred thousand, coupled with the lack of organization of the nine million Algerians, are complicating factors which have not existed to the same extent in India, where the British withdrawal is held up as an example, or even in Tunis and Morocco where united kingdoms existed and political leaders who could take power, assuring law and order to a greater or lesser extent in the vacuum created by the withdrawal of the colonizing powers.

The war in Algeria is not an unpopular war in France. Rightly or wrongly, the French people feel that the prestige of their army and their country is involved at a moment in history when their power is declining. Algeria is one of the final spots of red on the map that is in danger of being removed from the textbooks of French school children. There are also economic arguments against independence for Algeria: the oil resources which are being developed in the Sahara by the French and the fact that 20% of French exports are destined for Algeria. France would be in danger of losing 25% of her cotton market and 43% of her car market if Algeria became independent. However, these arguments are not persuasive because an independent Algeria may well continue to trade with France, and the cost of the war is ruinous to the French economy. It is French emotion, rather

than French logic, which allows the war in Algeria to continue.

The civil and military casualties on both sides in Algeria for the past three years are difficult to establish. The margin of error in the following figures compiled by *Le Monde* is much less for French losses than for those of the rebels because for the latter no discrimination can be made between combatants and civilians. Four thousand, seven hundred French soldiers have been killed and 6,000 wounded. The rebels hold no French prisoners but have lost about 30,000 men while 13,000 are held in French prison camps. There are victims of terrorism, too: among the European population, 950 have been killed, 2,500 wounded and 139 disappeared. Among the muslim population, 6,200 have been killed, 4,100 wounded and 2,100 disappeared.

To recall briefly the main events in the history of the war in Algeria, it will be remembered that it began as an armed rebellion in November, 1954. The first French soldiers were sent in January and the rebellion was still considered as a local affair which could be quickly suppressed by the police with the aid of French soldiers. For eleven months the army tried to repress the mounting guerilla activities, assassinations, raids and ambushes without success.

The French general elections of January, 1956 were won by a republican front which based its appeal on "peace in Algeria". Mollet and Lacoste began their policy of "pacification", about which more will be said in a moment. Even the Communists voted special powers for the government to deal with the situation. The French socialist congress in July demanded a cease-fire in Algeria, negotiations with the rebel leaders and reforms to be undertaken without waiting for a future statute which, it was hoped, would be negotiated with the freely elected representatives of the Algerian population. The first contacts between the French and rebel leaders began in September in Rome. Then the "Athos," sailing from Alexandria, was seized off the north coast of Africa carrying arms destined for the rebel forces.

The next step made by the French was the capture of the rebel leader, Ben Bella, and several of his collaborators who were flying from Rabat to Tunis to discuss French proposals for a cease-fire with M. Bourguiba and the Sultan of Morocco. The result was a crisis in French relations with Tunis and Morocco as well as an end to all confidence put in them by the FLN. Nor did this manoeuvre abet by one iota the activity of the rebels in Algeria. It led rather to its intensification.

At the beginning of 1957, Mollet spoke on the government's intended policy in Algeria: equal rights for the French community and the Algerians, a certain amount of autonomy and indissoluble links with France — the "skeleton law" began to be formulated. One of the last acts of his government before it fell in May was to block the twelve milliards of credits destined for M. Bourguiba because of the mounting aid sent to the Algerian rebel army from Tunis. It is for this reason that the French refused the Tunisian request for arms which led finally to the breach in the Atlantic alliance.

As month succeeded month, it became apparent that the policy of "pacification" was a failure. The French army of 400,000 men was faced with the silence or unpleasant neutrality of the civilian population which masked its support of the rebels. The Algerians may not like the methods of the rebels from which they also suffer, but after a hundred years of colonisation and association with the ideas of the West they certainly support the object of independence.

Indeed, the pacification of Algeria has slowly turned into an occupation of the country. The aims of the initial policy were to control and contact the Algerian population, to

destroy and seek out big rebel bands and to discover the minority which supported the French in order to use it to destroy the hostile minority, and later, to control the neutral majority. The army can only leave Algeria if there is an elite left behind to govern for the French whereas if it were to leave now there would be a return to the *status quo ante*. Military leaders in Algeria admit privately that it will take at least ten years to control the rebellion. Many others doubt that it can be done at all. None of the objectives have been obtained: unable to rally the Algerian people, the French are unable to leave the country.

It is the old story of a well-organized, well-equipped army trying to destroy guerilla fighters. Where is the army? How to contact it? The French torture rebel prisoners who pour forth names, dates and hiding places, but since the man was captured his band has melted into the desert, the plans he knew of are cancelled and the information worthless, if it were true in the first place. Many prisoners who have been tortured are released and go back to tell their tales of French cruelty and oppression. These methods make the situation worse and cannot be justified by the few successful raids to which they give rise. In the words of a French lieutenant recently returned from Algeria: "If we believe in the value of intimidation, we have a chance. If we believe rather in the danger of indignation, we run big risks."<sup>1</sup>

Even the operations undertaken in suspected rebel areas only result in more hatred from the muslin population. Once the French soldiers have gone, leaving behind them a few houses destroyed, inhabitants taken prisoner, fields and crops churned up by tanks, hidden arms undiscovered, the rebels who remain in the area laugh at them and point out to the villagers how hopeless it is for the French to find them or their weapons. For example, the soldiers cannot search the women who hide arms under their flowing robes, for fear of shocking muslin susceptibilities. The Algerian sees how the army destroys the country until everyone hates the French for the first time, or more than he did before they came to meddle in his private life.

In the meantime the rebel organizations — the FLN and the MNA (Mouvement National Algérien) — become stronger and the rebel army is the largest existing Arab force. They know that they can never defeat the French by force of arms, but by permanently menacing the lives and property of the French in Algeria they can make life unbearable for them. The FLN has a compact clandestine organization formed to achieve their military and political objectives. It exacts taxes from the Algerians and buys and smuggles arms from abroad. Propaganda is widespread and effective, exaggerating as it does French losses in men and equipment.

French propaganda in Algeria, based as it is upon the old paternalism, has failed to convince the population to support them. Islam teaches 'Never kill'; 'France builds, the fellahs destroy'; 'France will not yield'. The Algerian reply is simple: "If the French don't want anything in Algeria, as they always say, they should liberate it as they liberated Tunis and Morocco."

There is also an ambiguity in French policy in Algeria. No one denies the civilized benefits which have been brought to Algeria, although there are still many Frenchmen who think the Algerians should show gratitude instead of hatred for the railways, mines, schools and hospitals built and administered by the French. However, while on the one hand the army is led by circumstances rather than by conviction to repress the civilian population, on the other hand the number of buildings has increased every year since the war began, there is more medical care for the population now that there are more doctors in Algeria, and the number of muslim pupils rose from 189,000 in 1956 to 250,000 in 1957. There

is thus an attempt on the part of the French to correct the bad, seduce the good and persuade the indifferent. While torturing suspects, they build schools for the children.

One unfortunate result of the war in Algeria has been to give hundreds of thousands of young Frenchmen the taste of racial domination and colonialism which is no longer of our time. The young French worker or peasant stepping off the troopship from Marseilles onto the shores of North Africa, learns quickly to despise the muslim who is poorer and dirtier than any of the people he has known in France. He looks upon the rebels as cowardly bandits who flee all contact with the army, attack defenseless farms and villages and generally defy all the principles of warfare. He learns the power of carrying arms, the satisfaction of creating fear, of humiliating others more lowly than himself whom he also fears and suspects. He recognizes his kinship with the French in Algeria who welcome him with open arms as a conquering hero. Thus he finds that there are compensations for being a soldier — those of power, pride and hate. This sense of racial superiority, even more than religious differences, is the cause of the violence of the war in Algeria.

Since the United Nations vote on Algeria new efforts are being undertaken to use the good offices of the Sultan of Morocco, but not those of M. Bourguiba, to end the war in Algeria. The Sultan is anxious to persuade the FLN to accept a cease-fire, while M. Pineau admits that the French are willing to talk with the FLN on the limited subject of arrangements for a cease-fire. What is essential is to end the waste of life and material and to begin to invest even half of what France now spends annually on the war for developing Algeria and raising the standard of living of its people. In this way, France may help to build up Eurafrica to the benefit of the people of both continents, and in so doing she would gain a real victory for the Western world.

Paris, December 12, 1957.

## The Next Governor-General

*Eugene Forsey*

► THE SIMPLEST ANSWER to this question, and perhaps the best, would be, "just what we've got in the present one." But that is a little too simple. Granted Mr. Massey has been an outstanding success: what has made him so? If we want a succession of Governors like him, what qualities, what background, should we look for?

Some of the things Mr. Massey has are not essential at all. Canadian birth? No. There is no reason why someone born outside of Canada should not be a perfectly satisfactory Governor. British ancestry? No. There is no reason why a Canadian of French or German or Dutch or Jewish or any other ancestry should not do as well. Protestant faith? No again. Obviously bigots are ruled out; but Protestant bigots just as much as Roman Catholic. A reasonable degree of bilingualism? Yes. Indispensable tact? Yes. Discretion? Yes. Dignity? Yes.

These things, surely, are clear beyond argument. But there are others which are not. What about Canadian citizenship? The probability is that most of our future Governors will be Canadians. I don't think this is necessarily a good thing. On the contrary, it may very well get us into all sorts of unseemly squabbles, ethnic, denominational, regional. But I still think most of our future Governors will be Canadians.

Should they all be? I think not. If we get into a row over whether it's the French-Canadians' turn to have the Gov-

<sup>1</sup>Serge Adour, *Le Monde*, November 5, 1957.

ernorship, or the Irish-Canadians', or the Maritimes', or British Columbia's, or the Baptists', or the Presbyterians', or what-not, bringing someone in from outside for four or five years might be an excellent way of getting us all cooled off. By the time his term was up, several of the native claimants might have been gathered to their fathers, and some of the contending factions might have no plausible candidates to put forward.

There is always the possibility also that at a given moment we might have no Canadian who was obviously suitable while Britain or Australia or New Zealand had some eminent older statesman who would fit in perfectly. There is also something to be said for strengthening our Commonwealth ties by bringing in a Governor from one of the other Commonwealth nations. Presumably he would have to be from one of the other Kingdoms, as he would be representing Her Majesty and would have to swear allegiance to her; but if that difficulty could be got over, we might benefit considerably from having a suitable Indian or Pakistani or Ceylonese or Malay or Ghanan as Governor-General. It might even be a contribution to world peace. It would certainly be a conspicuous demonstration that we believed in racial equality. Of course we'd also have to do something about our Immigration Act and policy, or the demonstration would fall rather flat, if, indeed, an Asian statesman could be induced to take the job at all while we were discriminating against his fellow-countrymen.

What about formal education? Obviously we couldn't have an ignoramus or a bumpkin. But need every Governor be a university graduate? I say no; first, because some of our best-educated men have never darkened the doors of a university, and second, because some of our worst-educated have.

Does he need to have first-class brains? No. He needs intelligence and common sense; but he need not be a genius or anything near it. George V was no genius; but everyone who reads Sir Harold Nicolson's *Life*, and who understands our system of constitutional monarchy, will agree that he was a first-class constitutional king (and that if he hadn't been born to royalty, he might very well have been a first-class prime minister).

What about experience of public affairs? A retired statesman, if he has retired far enough, and wasn't too violently partisan before he retired, might do very well. Sir Robert Borden would probably have been excellent. Sir Charles Tupper probably would not. Other names, of both kinds, will readily suggest themselves to those who know Canadian political history.

*Mere* experience in public affairs would certainly not be a sufficient qualification. A man might be an admirable party leader, an admirable minister, an admirable prime minister, and still make a very poor Governor-General. He could quite easily spend years in any of those capacities and still know very little about our constitution and still less about the Governor's place in it. Two conspicuous examples spring to my mind, but I shall leave the reader to surmise who they are.

On the other hand, there might well be people who had never held public office, or been members of any legislative body, or even been in the civil service, who would be admirably qualified: some constitutional lawyers, some professors of law or political science. Some of these might know far more about the job, and do it better, than any politician or official in the country.

But a reasonable knowledge of the constitution and the Governor's place in it would be essential. (Incidentally, this, like the requirement of a reasonable knowledge of French, might narrow the field considerably.) Why? Isn't he just a figurehead, a rubber stamp? No. He is, in certain

critical situations, the guardian of the constitution, and if, as is quite possible, we have a series of minority governments, these critical situations may be far from rare. An informed Governor-General might be our only protection against being bludgeoned into accepting a particular government by a series of dissolutions, our only bulwark against cabinet dictatorship.

What about wealth? Must the Governor-General be rich? If we're not prepared to pay him enough, yes; otherwise, no. If our collective niggardliness reserves the office for the rich, it will be a disgrace.

Finally, need the Governor-General be a man? We have had female sovereigns, and good ones. Why not female Governors? It may even be argued that in Lord Aberdeen's time we had, *de facto*, a female Governor-General, and a good one. Why not *de jure*? The calm assumption, in all discussions of this question, that this is an office for men only, is perhaps just one more example of unwarranted masculine complacency.

## Three Wishes for Christmas, 1937

E. Burnett

► TONIGHT is Christmas Eve. Mother took me out to the back yard to show me the Christmas star, and she told me that I could have three wishes on it. Now I am in bed listening for my father to come home and thinking about what my wishes will be.

We have a tree this Christmas. Last year Mother said I was too old and they wanted too much for them, but tonight, after supper, she went up to the vacant lot on the corner where they were selling them and the man had only two left so he gave her one for a quarter and some of the branches lying on the ground. She has put it up in an old bucket and tied on the extra branches to make it look bigger. We brought down all the old chains and tinsel, and Mother made thick soap suds to put on for snow. It is pretty. My mother can fix up anything.

We are having turkey tomorrow. We always have something good to eat at Christmas. Last year we had roast beef; it was good but sometimes we have it on an ordinary Sunday. Dad has been working since before Exhibition time and the grocery bill is all paid up and Mother has money hidden where I'm not supposed to know. But there is a long winter ahead and the job can't last after the New Year and then there will be the taxes to pay. We are not going to be extravagant, but we will have turkey and for presents, some new clothes, candies and nuts, but no toys.

Turkey, and a tree, and the tree is the best part. I wanted one so much, only I am afraid. Mother put it in the parlor by the hall where the front door opens. She said if she put it on the other side by the register, the needles would dry up and drop off. But Dad always gets drunk on Christmas Eve, and when he opens the door, he will fall against the tree and knock it down; Dad doesn't care about Christmas. He will eat the turkey, but he laughs when Mother sends me to Sunday School.

This is my first wish. God, please don't let Dad be so drunk tonight that he knocks down our Christmas tree.

I have nothing to give my mother. When I was young I never thought of it, but now I would like to have something for her. My brother delivers groceries after school and he has bought her a red sweater. He paid three dollars. He said

I could put my name on it too but that would not be right because it is his gift. I looked at all the books in the library that told how to make things but they all had to have wood or leather or paint and I didn't have the stuff. At school I made a Christmas card and a calendar but they aren't much. I tried to shovel snow for people but they always want the bigger boys. Anyway, Mother said I wasn't to do it, because I would get all hot, then cold, and we couldn't afford more doctor's bills.

I never have any money. Sometimes my aunts and uncles give me some but Mother makes me put it all in the Penny Bank at school. In the spring I had over ten dollars, but Mother took it out to pay the doctor when I had the scarlet fever. I couldn't take any out anyway because your mother has to sign for it. Mother gives me a copper sometimes, but I always spend it. I never thought of Christmas till a couple of weeks ago and if I had been thinking of it all summer I would have had money. Some of the neighbors gave me nickels for ice cream after I got out from the fever. Mother lets me keep nickels and coppers if I get them one at a time. I didn't think of Christmas then. I hate myself.

God, please let me have something to give my mother tomorrow. That is my second wish.

Money is the most important thing in the world and we hardly ever have any because Dad doesn't work enough of the time. He says it is not his fault and he shouts about the capitalists and the Jews and how we should have a Hitler here. Mother keeps quiet until he says he is going to the Welfare. She told him if he asked for relief he would come home and find her and me with our heads in the gas oven.

Mother hasn't had a winter coat for a long time. If she has to go out like tonight, she waits till dark and puts on my brother's jacket. She isn't very big. She doesn't eat very much. If we have anything good like fudge or bananas she just tastes it and gives it all to my brother and me. Dad is the one who costs a lot. He has meat nearly all the time. He drinks too, and he drinks most when he isn't working. Then we never have money and mother patches everything. How does he have money to buy whiskey? He comes home and pounds the table and we can never have company because he might be drunk. Why doesn't he give Mother the whiskey money?

There is a girl down the street whose father died at work. A machine killed him. Now the company gives her mother money every week and they never have to worry. We would be so happy if Dad wasn't around, if we had money every week and we didn't have to wait for him to come home from the beverage room, staggering down the street with all the neighbors watching. It would have to be at work though. If he just died, nobody would pay.

That is my third wish. Please God, let Dad be killed at work.

## Film Review

► "THERE ARE CYNICS who will decry the moral influence of the lute," our hero manages to enunciate during his infamous lecture on Merrie England, and undoubtedly there are those who will decry such an habitual tippler as Jim Dixon. But one need not be a cynic to enjoy the Boulting Brothers transposition to the screen of *Lucky Jim*, Kingsley Amis' angry young novel aimed at the vacuities of provincial English university life. Better to forget that the book initiated a literary cult at all since this is not an angry young film.

This may be why some English critics have received it with less than first-rate enthusiasm. They were disappointed

that a toughly funny book had been turned into a broad knock-about farce. But their concern is needless, — a genuinely funny farce is a rare and desirable thing these days. Although the plot line of the novel has been radically altered for the film, much of the distinctive flavor is retained. This can be credited to Ian Carmichael's performance, Patrick Campbell's script, and the well-suited personality of the cast. For film comedy, visual jokes must be developed of course, and here they have been produced at the expense of Dixon's inner monologue. The change of character is subtle,—from a somewhat nasty iconoclast to an amiable fumbler with a student clique. That vast talent for face-making, obscene epithets, and impersonations is only partly carried over. As Dixon, Carmichael creates a new comic personality with a North Country accent which is not a rehash of the unforgettable Windrush of *Private's Progress*. He has a flair for humor reminiscent of both Jacques Tati and Harold Lloyd. An academic colleague's superfluous comment "He is quite unorthodox" is almost an insult to the merit of Carmichael's performance. His final lecture is an actor's triumph of slurred inebriated speech.

The high spot in the film, as in the book, is the arty weekend at the home of Professor Welch, Dixon's superior. A nice serio-comic atmosphere is achieved in which everything and everybody are both believeable and absurd. But then again perhaps the chance encounter with maudlin Margaret in her bedroom is most enjoyable. This long scene has been reduced by the script writer to a few classic lines of dialogue beginning (from a tense but hopeful Margaret to an uncomprehending but wary Jim): "Jim dear, is this wise?" All the sequences are not so pithy—some are too drawn out, such as the completely invented scene when an altercation with a florist over decoration reduces a dignified procession to a shambles. It even falls to the low point of displaying a pair of academic bloomers for laughs. John Cairney is much funnier in his almost wordless but artful portrayal of that sickening sycophant Johns.

Sharon Acker, who plays the heroine Christine in the film, is a charming unaffected actress, rather better-looking in person than on the screen. On a visit to the set of *Lucky Jim*, Kingsley Amis pronounced her to be just like Jim Dixon—rather vague and erratic in manner, an accomplished face-maker. He actually coached Ian Carmichael in the repertoire of faces displayed in the film. She also confirmed a suspicion that many of these actors have no trouble being characters on the screen. Hugh Griffith for instance, who plays the inconclusive Professor Welch, is constitutionally incapable of finishing a sentence or filling in those omissions of fact and relevant information which make his every utterance hilarious.

The Boulting Brothers have developed a kind of cinema stock company whose efficient smoothness is a pleasure to watch. *Lucky Jim* is more appealing than their previous effort *Brothers-in-Law*, which had too many inside jokes, but lacks the sharp satirical bite that *Private's Progress* achieved. The latter fell short when it yielded to a conventional moral code to finish the story. Its own logic required that the thieving expedition into Occupied Germany be crowned with success and glory and a medal bestowed by that most questionable pinnacle of military caste—Buckingham Palace and its honorary commanders-in-chief. As a hearty cynical romp, *Lucky Jim* is probably the most successful film of the three. How that "old song" lingers in one's ears—"Oh lucky Jim, How I envy him. Oh lucky Jim, How I envy him. Oh. Oh. Oh lucky Jim."

JOAN FOX

### **Organization**

If God would kindly lend a hand  
With matters quite uncommon  
To burdens that are clearly mine;  
Those others I find foreign.

If God would only give me signs,  
Or helpful premonitions.  
God knows, of course, he must redeem  
Impossible conditions.

If God would just cooperate,  
(Perhaps, he's too refined?)  
Since both of us are handicapped  
By duties ill-defined.

*Edward J. Czerwinski*

### **Fiat Lux**

"There cannot be imposed upon our people a national art, a national literature, or a national music. These expressions of the soul must come from within the soul."

*Canadian Association of Broadcasters.*

Will Big Sister Lever Brothers?  
Will Aunt Lucy take to dope?  
Living can be beautiful,  
And while there's life, there's always soap.

When Laura seems Unlimited,  
Don't say she needs a thorough whipping:  
Vital Spiritual Food  
From your radio is dripping.

Cruel CBC dictators  
Must not set our nation's goal;  
It must (via Hollywood)  
Come from Deep within the Soul.

So we go about our tasks,  
Minds refreshed and burdens lighter;  
While our backward land remains  
The true north strong and three shades whiter.

*Derek Pethick.*

### **After Six Hours of Conferences on the Teaching of Freshman English**

Our words like hamstrung butterflies  
Fall shapelessly along the air.  
The visiting professor says  
We are not getting anywhere.

Where should we get? Where have we been?  
What luggage will we need to carry?  
Some words, of course—effectiveness,  
Methods, ratios, rates and airy

Phrases born of special minds  
That dwell in jargon wonderlands.  
And love per cents. And clock the size  
And shape of footsteps on the sands

Of their own peculiar time.  
The ghosts of students who'll come after  
We've dismissed our meeting move in  
The room. I hear the sound of laughter.

*Gerald Weales*

### **O Montreal!**

In this, the travelling salesman's nation,  
to make a poet's reputation  
the art of verse is not enough —  
he has to sell the nasty stuff.  
So Layton, Dudek and the rest  
know better than to write their best  
where quantity's the only test.  
They shun the meaner sort of toil,  
the pumice stone, the midnight oil,  
and leave for petticoated dons  
and English-speaking simpletons  
that slavey's chore, the grosser part —  
the cruel discipline of art.  
They cultivate the huckster's skill  
in praising what is written ill,  
and with a puff of tepid air  
defy bad customers who dare  
their rotten workmanship lay bare.  
Must Layton's verse receive high credit?  
It must, for he himself has said it.  
Who knows if Dudek be a poet?  
He knows himself, who best should know it.  
So here's the road to high success:  
leave art, write letters to the press;  
praise friends from whom all blessings flow,  
keep twenty typists on the go.  
And swagger in the public eye,  
and 'love me love my doggerel!' cry.

*Kildare Dobbs*

### **Moronic Mowing**

Now the dark sky bends  
Under the sickle moon  
And the star seeds fall  
Into the no of time.  
Come, paean the gleaming bone,  
Carol the crop of thunder,  
While the fireweed fades where soon  
It will burn on the fretted stone  
And tunnel the swollen rhyme.  
It will purple the sulphured blood  
And tendril the last laugh under.

*Gilean Douglas*

### **Request**

*The poet asks a girl too young for him to live her truth, be part of Earth's beauty:*

Be young, walk impudently humming  
—hair a lemon cloud inlaid with sunset,  
between ridges of my brain.

I'm all torn murk and lightning,  
stink with blood of crocodiles I've wounded:  
Be young, have eyes a sun-leached sky  
where swallows whiz in parabolas.

Let a shy hand find your woman hair,  
the wee mouth at your breast,  
be like your chuckle in the bell of my skull  
—young, possessed.

*Milton Acorn*

### Saint Henry Spring

Spring I remember wild canaries;  
gusts of dandelions;  
and green tongues of trees  
in thoughts of shy ones.

Spring I see a rubber in the gutter,  
a broom-handle on a mud-lawn;  
thaw-water trickles from a pyin udder.

I only see black petals  
in eyes of girls  
self-contained as nettles;  
choke-cherry sweet in hours  
when even a slum grows flowers.

Spring I'm dwelt by startles of canaries,  
coronal nudity  
stuck to by drab threads of January.

Milton Acorn

### Hour of Guitar

Hour of guitar  
resting my wood on your one hand  
with your other while there is yet time  
pluck my strings  
and though I am hollow  
I shall leave you with music

In the cup  
beside the guitar  
if you let me stand too long  
I shall be bitter tea  
taste me quickly and I will kiss your nostrils  
with jasmine and sweet leaves

Petal in the vase  
above the cup  
beside the guitar  
if you do not look at me before it is too late  
you will fit me only to indicate  
leaves of paper raped by print

Peter Miller

American Letters, Plainfield, Vermont, a semi-annual review, is planning two issues devoted to Canadian poetry (English-Canadian, June, 1958 and French-Canadian, later in the year). Translations of French poems will be published at the same time under separate cover. Payment is five dollars for each poem or translation. The deadline for manuscripts is March 1, 1958.

## Radio and Television

► NOW THAT WE HEAR so much about satellites and their travellers, I have been pondering one of Chekhov's transcriptions from the notebook of an old dog: "People don't eat the slops and bones which the cook throws away. Fools!"

Maybe the old dog was right, and what look to me like slops and bones on the television screen, are really tasty morsels. But if I were a dog and had watched mankind portrayed in *Look Ma, I'm Human* (CBC Folio, Nov. 28th), *Mr. Bell's Creation* (On Camera Nov. 4th), *The Prizewinner* (CBC Television Theatre Oct. 29th) or a chapter of *Radisson* (Children's television serial, Dec 14th) I doubt if I would ever become a human-being-lover.

Undoubtedly only a dog would have picked these particular plays to watch. I admit it was a random sample, but no less representative than the random sample of Dr. Dallas W. Smythe's research group who undertook to analyze the content of Canadian radio and television programmes for the week of January 15-21, 1956, for the Royal Commission on Broadcasting.

Of *Look Ma, I'm Human!*, the *CBC Times* wrote: "... CBC Folio will take a running jump into one of the zaniest original musical comedy scripts to be written in a long time." The jump was disastrous, and probably its most unfortunate effect will be to make *Folio* over-cautious about musical comedies in the future.

Even if you don't compare it with the American production of Menotti's *Unicorn*, the costuming of *Look Ma* was unimaginative, the dances completely unrelated to their stone-age setting and the dancers themselves unhappy as well as uncomely. The story concerns a cave-man, Muk, who is a bit of an outcast because he likes to think. The level of wit can be judged by this line which I took down verbatim: "You better watch out, Muk, or your name will be mud." All the opportunities this theme holds for satire in words, dance, or music were completely missed, and the libretto was too slow, coy, and heavy to even approach either zaniness or originality.

*Mr. Bell's Creation* and *The Prizewinner* were both plays which prove that our television writers are now responding to the call of the office-room just as earlier writers used to burst into flames at the call of the Great North. Although these two plays had some actors and actresses who took their work seriously, the story and dialogue in both were on an adolescent level—and a rebellious adolescent level at that—so there was no good in it for the adolescents. Even worse was the atmosphere these plays exuded. Their 'field', as the existentialists call it, was the kind of narrow small-townishness where the tidy housewife conceals the real slut underneath. Any poor dog who sat through these plays would be conditioned for life against nasty bosses, and would surely come away with the idea that working in an office consisted of long dreamy soliloquies at the water cooler, unlimited horseplay for the boys, and grab-bags of romance for the girls. I am prepared to believe that this is what life is really like, but isn't that all the more reason why it should not be immortalized in mass entertainment?

As for the chapter of *Radisson*, a serial which I watched for the first time on Dec. 14th, no dog under the age of twelve who wasn't also an expert in Canadian history could possibly have distinguished the beavers from the musk-rats.

All this is very regrettable when one realizes that 42.6%\* of all television programme time is devoted to drama. When broken into sub-groups, plays about crime, the western wilds, and science fiction are seen to be the most frequent themes. Less than 1% of all programme time is given over to Fine Arts and Literature (although this percentage is slightly higher for CBC owned stations), and public affairs programmes take up only 1.5% of available time. Social and human relations programmes account for another 1.5%.

Interestingly, the programmes in fine arts and literature and public affairs—such as *Explorations* and *Citizen's Forum*—which occupy such a small amount of the total time, are usually the most rewarding in content. In December, *Explorations* had a well-researched two-part documentary on the history of the Canadian Theatre called *Yesterday's Footlights*. The trouble with *Explorations* all along has been a kind of fuzziness of intention. One could never guess what was the idea behind it all. One might argue that this is the way of all experiment, but I think that here, just as in the

\*"Appendix XIV," *Royal Commission on Broadcasting, 1957*, p. 65.

scientific experiment, a definition of goals and a working hypothesis are necessary. Otherwise what results is not experiment, but experimentalism.

*The Canadian Mirror* (*Explorations*, Dec. 4th) was a departure from the former sloppy pattern, and even though I had other things to do, I stayed to watch and listen as Major Moore introduced scenes from plays that were popular at the end of the last century. The script, researched by Murray Edwards and written by Gordon Babineau, was a careful piece of work, and it was produced in a clever stylized manner which underlined the blindness of a narrow nationalism and the comic seriousness of the early propagandists for women's rights. Because the authors had a point of view on the subject, they were able to make a brilliant use of our distance from the historical facts. Satire thus becomes a form of evaluation.

*Citizen's Forum* is on television at 3.00 o'clock Sunday afternoon—a poor time to catch public-affairs-minded people if they happen to have young children. It is re-broadcast on radio on Thursday evenings, and after comparing the same programme as it comes through the different media, I feel that television has definite advantages for transmitting conversation.

*Citizen's Forum* is a joint project of the Canadian Association for Adult Education and the CBC, and apart from the topics discussed, its coverage, in terms of the variety of discussants used, is far more representative than that of any similar programme, such as *Fighting Words*. Since the later always originates in Toronto, the special color of our coastal areas can never be included.

Now that I'm getting older, I welcomed the topic of *Make Funerals Less Expensive*—even though my fantasy of having my husband or a kind neighbor burn my dead body in the backyard and scatter the ashes over the garden was irrevocably shattered. And it was good to see Dr. Trueman of the Canada Council in a lively and well-chaired discussion (Dec. 14th) with Jean-Paul Falardeau, a social scientist, Alfred Pinsky, an art teacher, and Eugene Kash, a musician. I remember Mr. Falardeau saying: "The Canada Council should be a northern light, and not a Laurentian shield."

At this point the old dog made a final entry into his notebook: "When human beings stop trying to be entertaining they are worth being quoted as much as dogs."

MIRIAM WADDINGTON.

## Correspondence

The Editor: I trust that you and Kildare (middle name Scrooge?) Dobbs had the merry Christmas made possible by those who believe in it and in the infinitely moving things it connotes at its possible best. Mr. Dobbs grandiosely describes "North American religion generally" as "a fairly sickening thing". This would be a gross understatement as description of his article splashed by you on your December front page to the accompaniment of an equally inappropriate anonymous (sic!) Sputnik-in-the-East Christmas-card with presumably three of your wise editors mounting camels (or are they Dobbsedaries?). Bad taste is one thing, bad logic another, but blasphemy one might not have expected to find in a serious journal devoted to clean thought and, I should have supposed, decently chaste opinion. For myself I am too busy giving "small human attentions" to a few of God's people to waste precious minutes on the merely scurilous; so, if you wish me to read you, please try to extend your tolerance to all reasonable Christian traditions, wherever they may seem sincere. Some of these bring blessings in their wake greater than your so smart 'modern' Scrooge can envision.

(The Rev.) John F. Davidson, N.Y.C., N.Y., U.S.A.

I am sorry if I have offended Mr. Davidson. But I am afraid I cannot be held responsible for the Doctrine of the Incarnation, to which I think I gave tolerably vivid expression. As it is that doctrine which appears to the reverend gentleman to be in bad taste, blasphemous, unclean and unchaste, there's not much I can say to comfort him. Canada is, theologically at all events, a free country. I cannot be surprised that he thinks the doctrine blasphemous, for so did the Jews.

Kildare ('Scroogy') Dobbs.

## Turning New Leaves

### The Treadmill

► WILL SUCCESS spoil Linguistic Analysis? The question has been asked a good many times these last few years, as the new school of philosophy swept all Oxford, and then all England, before it. Unbelievers have often answered, yes. For the apparent effect of Linguistic Analysis (which is Logical Positivism in contemporary dress) was to dissolve whatever philosophical system it touched, by showing the system to consist mainly of verbal confusions. Soon, surely, there would be no philosophy left to analyze. So the opposition could take heart: if Linguistic Analysis could not be defeated by logic, it might yet be destroyed by logistics. This seemed to be a pretty intelligent diagnosis. There was no doubt about the task Linguistic Analysis had set itself. As one of its leading exponents, T. D. Weldon, put it in a recent essay (in *Philosophy, Politics and Society*, edited by Peter Laslett, 1956, p. 23): "The purpose of philosophy" (meaning the purpose of the Linguistic Analysts, and the purpose to which they wish to confine all philosophy) "is to expose and elucidate linguistic muddles; it has done its job when it has revealed the confusions which have occurred and are likely to recur in inquiries into matter of fact because the structure and use of language are what they are." And it seemed fairly likely that Linguistic Analysis could, if allowed at its own valuation, subvert the great philosophical systems in brisk order, leaving nothing for itself to do.

But the opposition should have been given pause by the fact that the Analysts cheerfully admitted that this would be the end result, at least in political philosophy. Thus Mr. Weldon could say in 1953, in his widely read Penguin *The Vocabulary of Politics* (p. 192): "When verbal confusions are tidied up most of the questions of traditional political philosophy are not unanswered. All of them are confused formulations of purely empirical difficulties. This does not mean that these are themselves easy to deal with, but it does mean that writers on political institutions and statesmen, not philosophers, are the proper people to deal with them." But Mr. Weldon was not at all perturbed. Perhaps he felt that there were such rich fields of confusion in political philosophy that the supply would last out his lifetime. At any rate, the Analysts have begun to move into political theory in depth, and some reassessment of the supposed doom of Linguistic Analysis is now possible. It turns out that it is doomed, but not from the cause first diagnosed.

The Analysts were right not to worry too much about logistics, because in spite of Mr. Weldon's emphasis on reducing philosophy to empirical problems, there is another line they can take. There are, by the tenets of Linguistic Analysis, two (and only two) kinds of meaningful state-

**FIGHT  
POLIO!**

ments: besides the empirical statement of fact (to which Mr. Weldon would reduce philosophy) there is the "analytical proposition" or tautology, that is, the mathematical sort of proposition in which what is asserted about something is logically contained in the definition of the thing. There is logistic escape here for the Analysts, since there is plenty for them to do by way of arranging deductive political philosophies into logically consistent series of tautologies. This is what Mr. Warrender offers us in his full-length study of Hobbes's theory of political obligation.\* He does it so excellently that his book may not unfairly be treated as an illustration of the limitations and the dilemma of Linguistic Analysis.

Certainly his work raises large questions. If the postulates of Linguistic Analysis are correct, there are only two paths that political philosophy can take. One path soon leaves nothing for philosophy to do. The other confines political philosophy to closed abstract logical systems, which can never establish any correspondence with or any relevance to the empirical universe of man and society. So the second path makes it impossible to interpret satisfactorily the thought of any thinker who did draw a moral theory from an empirical universe. Are there really only these two paths? Must political philosophers, to avoid logistic destruction, jump on the treadmill of tautologies? Or is there something wrong with the postulates of Linguistic Analysis itself, some defect which has confined the Analyst to a choice of blind alleys? There is something wrong. We can identify the postulate which causes all the trouble, and when it is examined it turns out to be arbitrary and uncalled for.

\* \* \* \* \*

It is easy to identify the postulate in Mr. Warrender's book. He tells us plainly what he is about: "I have attempted to construct an interpretation of Hobbes's theory of obligation out of his various writings, and have been concerned entirely with his statements and the inner coherence of his doctrine. . . . Historical explanation of Hobbes's views . . . has been excluded . . . as it would have interrupted the argument as it is here presented [and] would also have introduced a different type of conjecture into the interpretation of Hobbes's theory from that based entirely upon internal evidence. In any event, I have been less concerned with the problem of how Hobbes's theory originated or how it is to be explained, than with the prior question of what his theory is, and that I found to be a sufficient occupation" (pp. viii-ix).

This is in the best Linguistic Analysis style. Mr. Warrender no doubt thought this was a straightforward proposal. But it is not. To say that "what the theory is" is a prior question to "how it originated" or "how it is to be explained," begs the question. It may equally well be that you cannot say what a political theory is except by considering how it originated and how its existence is to be accounted for. For if there are unclear postulates and uncertain steps in the deduction (as Mr. Warrender rightly says there are in Hobbes's theory), you must, in order to say what the theory is, conjecture what the postulates meant, and what assumptions are properly to be imputed to fill in the steps in the deduction. How else can you do that except by examining how the theory originated? Only by looking at the author's place in his own society can one hope to discover what his preconceptions were, and how far he read into his postulates a view of man and society shaped by his observation of that society.

Yet Mr. Warrender finds this irrelevant. He wants only to produce an internally coherent theory of obligation from

Hobbes's political writings. And he can, and does. It was worth doing, too, for Mr. Warrender has been able to resolve some of the logical difficulties of interpretation that have seemed most stubborn up to now. Most notably, he is able to show, by distinguishing between the "grounds" and the "validating conditions" of obligation, the extent to which Hobbes did find obligation to exist before or apart from the institution of the sovereign state. Thus he solves the old problem of how Hobbes's sovereign state itself was validated, or how men who (as has often been said) could be under no obligation without the sovereign, could oblige themselves to maintain a sovereign.

But he solves it only by showing that Hobbes must have meant that men are obliged in certain ways as men, and that this obligation as citizens is logically contained in their prior obligation as men. This is excellent as far as it goes but it does not explain on what grounds Hobbes could assert that men, as men, are obliged. Mr. Warrender sees that there is this further question, but he dismisses it as a matter of secondary, almost unrelated, importance (p. 278). All he feels called upon to do about it is to consider two possible Hobbesian ultimate grounds of obligation, which are, he says, the only two that are reasonable—God's command, and God's judgment (p. 310). He confesses (p. 11) that this part of his analysis is more conjectural than the rest, but he is not much concerned about its uncertainty because both these grounds "are devoid of significant consequences for the deduction of men's duties, except that they provide a formal termination for the scale of authority" (p. 311). As Hobbes's definition of God was a purely formal one with no content, Mr. Warrender is quite right in saying that these grounds of obligation tell us nothing. But we are brought to this dead end only because of Mr. Warrender's summary rejection of any other intelligible ground of obligation. He rejects the possibility that Hobbes derived his central concept of natural law (and hence of obligation) from, and regarded its validity as sufficiently established by, his empirical generalizations about human needs and desires.

Why had Mr. Warrender to reject this possibility? Because he accepts as axiomatic the Linguistic Analysis principle, that no "ought" can be deduced from an "is", no statement of obligation or of moral valuation from a statement of fact. According to this rule, if Hobbes were viewed as having deduced ought from is, his system could not be regarded as a valid deductive system. But since Mr. Warrender's whole purpose is to extract a valid deductive theory of obligation from Hobbes's philosophy, he cannot entertain the possibility that Hobbes did base his theory of obligation on empirical generalizations about human needs and desires. And Mr. Warrender's axiom rules out any social interpretation of Hobbes, for a social interpretation would show Hobbes as having deduced ought from is, that is, as having deduced obligation from the supposedly empirical facts about human nature which Hobbes had drawn from his view of social man in the 17th century. Mr. Warrender, in short, has chosen the second path of Linguistic Analysis, and has demonstrated in action that by it one cannot find, indeed cannot even seek, an empirical basis for a theory of obligation.

The "no ought from is" principle is thus responsible for making Mr. Warrender's work an essay in arrangement of tautologies. It is the same principle that has given Linguistic Analysis in general only the choice of two blind alleys. It is the Analysts' insistence that no ought can be deduced from is that leaves them with only two kinds of meaningful theory: pure empirical generalization of fact (which they will not allow to produce any valid obligation), and tautologies (in which principles of obligation can be formulated, but which cannot show them to correspond to any empirical

\*THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF HOBBS, HIS THEORY OF OBLIGATION: Howard Warrender; Oxford; \$6.50.

needs or other facts about man and society, and so cannot give obligation any empirical basis).

\* \* \* \* \*

What is wrong with the "no ought from is" principle? It is an arbitrary principle, not evidently valid or necessary, and it hinders more than it helps an understanding of the universe of discourse it is intended to deal with. The Analysts, of course, assert that it is a necessary principle, in that the rules of grammar do not permit the deduction of ought from is. But this still does not make its necessity evident. As Ogden and Richards have pointed out, "so far from a grammar . . . being a reflection of the structure of the world, any supposed structure of the world is more probably a reflection of the grammar used. There are many possible grammars, and their differences are fundamental. Their several developments appear to reflect, if they reflect anything, the features of the earlier experiences of the races in which they occur . . ." (*The Meaning of Meaning*, p. 96). The only rules of grammar, and of logic, that are necessarily valid are those without which one cannot make intelligible the universe (physical or social) one is dealing with.

Now so far as one can tell, the grammar which imposes a gap between "ought" and "is" is not found in primitive societies. It appears in the language of philosophy only when the equalitarian tribal society has given way to the class-divided state. One suspects this is more than a coincidence. For in a class society in which the lower class retains a memory of a more equalitarian society, a ruling-class philosophy cannot allow obligation to follow logically from fact. If obligation (and its obverse, rights) were allowed to follow from the fact that men are equally human in their wants, and the fact that their wants cannot be satisfied without a system of rights and obligation, the result would be an equalitarian system of rights, which is incompatible with a class society.

The logical gap between ought and is was needed for purposes of social control; the gap is required by the nature of a class society. But is it also required by the nature of man and society as such? There is no evidence that it is. Begin with empirical facts. Human beings do want a host of satisfactions—physical, spiritual, emotional, aesthetic, and so on. There is no reason in the nature of man or of society as such, why they should not have as many satisfactions as are consistent with each other. Satisfactions require obligation. So there is no reason, in the nature of man and society as such, why obligation should not follow logically from fact. There is only a reason in the nature of class society why it should not.

But while the gap was thus needed and accepted in the grammar and logic of philosophy, as it clearly was by Plato's time, the gap itself was not enough to produce an adequate theory of obligation. To hold together a class-divided society, Plato and his successors had to produce some positive grounds for political obligation. The gap was still necessary, but it was equally necessary to bridge it. So from Plato on, the philosophers have had to go to all sorts of extremes to produce what would appear to be logical deductive theories of obligation. Since they could not deduce ought from is, they had to import some transcendental principles, gods or essences or Ideas or what not, from which to derive obligation; and having done so they had to claim for these some status of real existence at some higher level of truth or reality. No wonder there has been linguistic muddle. The Analysts have seen through the muddle, but they have not seen through the gap.

It is a pity they have not. For their failure to do so has made untenable the one strong point of Logical Positivism, the determination to reduce the high-flown abstractions of

traditional philosophy to empirical constructions. As soon as the Analysts move into political philosophy in depth, it becomes apparent that they cannot do this.

Linguistic Analysis has failed not because it was too empirical but because it was not empirical enough: it did not sufficiently investigate the social nature of language and logic; instead, it accepted a language and logic which prevented it from attempting a social interpretation of theories of political obligation.

It appears, then, that success has spoiled Linguistic Analysis—not by cutting off its supplies, but by lengthening its supply lines so far as to disclose an inherent weakness at headquarters. It is, after all, a logical, not a logistical, failure. This is not to say that Linguistic Analysis cannot still be helpful in political theory. But we should not accept it at its own valuation. To do so is to condemn ourselves to a treadmill that may give us continuous and agreeable employment, but will not add much to our knowledge of the wheel. It is more likely to induce a myopia that is satisfied with its close scrutiny of the treads.

Mr. Weldon has spoken of the classical formulations of political theory, from Plato on, as "both the inspiration and the prison of European thought for more than two thousand years" (*Vocabulary of Politics*, p. 17). It is hoped that the treadmill which Linguistic Analysis has erected in the prison yard will not last as long.

C. B. MACPHERSON.

## Books Reviewed

### Public Affairs

**ROYAL COMMISSION ON CANADA'S ECONOMIC PROSPECTS:** *The Canadian Agricultural Machinery Industry*; J. D. Woods & Gordon Limited, pp. 47. *The Canadian Primary Textiles Industry*; National Industrial Conference Board (Canadian Office), pp. 105. *Labour Mobility*; The Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, now The Canadian Labour Congress, pp. 11. *Probable Effects of Increasing Mechanization in Industry*; The Canadian Congress of Labour, now The Canadian Labour Congress, pp. 87.

In "The Canadian Agricultural Machinery Industry" J. D. Woods & Gordon Limited have prepared an excellent report for the Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects. The report succeeds in separating out the important characteristics of the industry and in presenting a short but cogent analysis of the industry. It will be a valuable source of reference to anyone interested in the economics of agricultural implement production.

The report's predictions for the future are less convincing than its analysis of the past and present, because it gives insufficient study to such difficult questions as the determinants of demand for agricultural machinery. The report concludes that "any broad expansion in Canadian production facilities appears unlikely." It singles out lower transportation costs to a major part of the North American

Ariel F. Sallops, Q.C.

H. A. Osborn, LL.B.

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market, and a position within the larger market in case of reimposition of tariffs as the principal advantages of locating new productive facilities in the United States. Then it argues that these outweigh the principal advantages of a Canadian location, which are lower wage rates, and better access to markets outside North America. Yet this reasoning does not explain why Canadian production of agricultural machinery increased relative to United States production after World War II. The production of combines in Canada cannot be set apart as if it were an Act of God.

The study of "The Canadian Primary Textiles Industry" by the National Industrial Conference Board is disappointing. The report contains original statistical series which express production and consumption of primary textiles in terms of pounds of cotton, woollen, and synthetic, fibre content. Unfortunately these statistics are of little use for economic analysis. Over the years consumers have turned to lighter and lighter fabrics, so that today one pound of wool or cotton fibre content represents, on the average, much more fabrication than it did twenty-five years ago. These statistics distort comparisons between the three branches of primary textile production and between imports and domestic production, because cotton fabrics, woollen fabrics and synthetic fabrics, and imports and domestic production, all have different ratios of value to weight of fibre content and it is value that is the most significant measure of their importance.

The report relies heavily on the testimony of Canadian textile manufacturers and American textile consultants, engineers, and machinery manufacturers, but this testimony is frequently contradictory. The difference of opinion among individuals closely associated with the textile industry arises partly from a difference of roles and partly from experience in different branches of the textile industry which do not have the same characteristics and problems. The report itself would have been improved had greater attention been given to this diversity within the industry. Manufacturers and experts did agree that the competitive disadvantage of the Canadian industry arises principally from short production runs. Yet the report does not attempt to explain why, in view of this situation, there is not greater specialization among textile firms in Canada.

There are surprising omissions in the report. No mention is made of the Report by The Tariff Board on the "Canadian Wool-Cloth Industry" in 1955, although the Tariff Board's information about workers displaced by the closing of Canadian woollen mills is surely more relevant than the experience of workers in the New England labour market cited by the Conference Board. Also, in its discussion of duty for value purposes, the report does not mention that four years ago provision was made in the customs tariff for increasing the duty on any goods whose price was below the average price prevailing in the country of origin during the six months preceding the importation.

The reports of The Canadian Labour Congress on "Labour Mobility" and "Probable Effects of Increasing Mechanization in Industry" deal with problems so broad and so speculative that satisfactory treatment is very difficult. The report on "Labour Mobility", which is, in fact, only a note of nine pages on the subject, recommends a study of our unemployed workers, why they are unemployed, and how many would benefit from retraining or assistance in moving to other jobs. Study of such a concrete subject would be much more valuable than study of such general topics as labour mobility and automation. The Royal Commission asked for an "objective study" of "the probable effects of increasing mechanization of industry, and labour's aims and objectives in this regard," but the study of labour's aims by the Canadian Labour Congress

cannot, of course, be objective. A report of this type might better be presented as a brief to the Royal Commission.

*Sheila B. Eastman.*

**THE NORTH WEST COMPANY:** Marjorie Wilkins Campbell; Macmillan of Canada; pages xiv, 296; maps and illustrations; \$5.00.

This book attempts and succeeds in presenting a reasonably complete story of the group of fur traders and explorers known as the North West Company, or, more briefly, the Nor'westers. The North West company, as the author takes care to point out, was not a regularly organized body. It lacked a charter and it lacked cohesion. Rather it consisted of loose copartnerships of small groups of men: entrepreneurs, merchants, fur traders and explorers, drawn together by a common purpose — the gathering of furs to sell at a profit. All were animated by a spirit of adventure. "Most were Highland Scots, still harbouring the splendid loyalties and bitter enmities of their native glens, proud, sensitive sometimes ruthless men, driven by a restless urge to see what lay around the next bend in the river, figuratively as well as literally." Together they developed the fur trade in Canada and made possible the eventual discovery of the great northwest.

In 1779 (Alexander Mackenzie gives the dates as 1783-4) was formed the first North West Company. Before them were the French who taught them much of the ways of the bush and of the wild life by which it was inhabited. Among its members were Simon McTavish, William, Duncan and Simon McGillivray, David Thompson, Simon Fraser, Alexander Mackenzie, Joseph Frobisher, Alexander Henry, Peter Pond, James, John and Andrew McGill, James McGill was to found McGill University, and Isaac Todd, of Montreal.

In the columns of *The London Chronicle* less than two decades earlier (December 1761) a dispute occurred about the wisdom of exchanging the West Indian Island of Guadeloupe with its fertile sugar plantations for the problematical advantages of a fur-bearing Canada. One letter writer (August 8) put the case against Canada quite forcefully. Canada, he said, had no commercial value except its fur trade. And the value of that trade could be reckoned at only £200,000 a year. This return might be contrasted with that of Guadeloupe whose sugar trade alone was worth twice that sum, not to include its coffee, indigo and other products. Only six or eight ships a year were needed, it was said, to take care of the whole Canadian fur trade. But the trade of Guadeloupe employed not less than fifty ships a year. So the argument went back and forth with no apparent effect other than to harden the determination of the Lords of Trade and Plantations to keep Canada. Time has but confirmed their wisdom or foresight. The incident is quoted as a sidelight on the state of the fur trade in Canada at that time.

Of the major groups trading into the great west were two: the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company; later the XY Company under Sir Alexander Mackenzie was to provide formidable competition. Quarrels and schisms among the traders were common, and it took the united efforts of Simon McTavish and William McGillivray, his nephew, to keep order in the ranks. Nowhere is the traditional clannishness of the Scots Highlanders displayed more impressively than in the patriarchal assiduity with which Simon McTavish, like a feudal chieftain, endeavoured to provide jobs for his numerous and enterprising relatives. Highly creditable to his critical acumen, his nepotism had its reward. All or virtually all his appointees made good; William McGillivray especially so.

Highlights in the narrative were the efforts, abortive as they proved, by Thomas Douglas Lord Selkirk to found a settlement at Red River, his battles physical and legal with members of the North West Company, finally his death in pitiable dishonor; the repeated appeals of the North West Company to the Home Government for access to Hudson's Bay, the writing (by a ghost) and the publication of Mackenzie's "Voyages," and the union of the North West Company and the Hudson Bay Company which because of rising costs became all but inevitable. Before this and during the war of 1812 the Yankee skulduggery of John Jacob Astor was a source of acute embarrassment to the North West Company with whom he had business relations. In the end the solution of their common difficulties was found in a common agreement. On March 26, 1821, representatives of the North West Company signed a bond of union with the Hudson's Bay Company, titled *an agreement between the Governor and Company of the Hudson's Bay Company and certain partners of the North West Company*. The signatories for the N. W. Co. were William and Simon McGillivray and Edward Ellice, the London agent. With the record the North West Company passed into history.

Romance? Clearly Canadian events are filled with it, and never more so than in this vivid, exciting and glowing account of the North West Company. Here for the first time in full and consecutive order is set down for the general reader the tale of the Canadian fur traders, the result of whose daring adventures was to make the vast, and the then bleak lands, of the West known to man. It is a pity that the last days of many of them ended in abject poverty and despair. They deserved better of fate.

To the ordinary reader a few footnotes would have been serviceable even at the risk of incurring his momentary distaste. Such maps as are included require too much labour from the reader to decipher them. A pocket map would have been more useful, preferably one with detail cut to a minimum. French words and phrases are employed with a gay abandon; dates much less so. There is a carefully compiled index, with a list of authorities. If there is a serious fault with the book it is that it seems overweighted with detail. But a blemish of this kind, if it is a blemish, may well be viewed differently by readers who come to the book with little or no previous knowledge of the subject. The author is to be commended for including fine portraits of Simon McTavish, Sir Alexander Mackenzie and William McGillivray by artists of repute. They tell us much about the men who toiled to make the North West Company what it was.

William Colgate.

#### THE DOUBLE PATRIOTS, A STUDY OF JAPANESE NATIONALISM: Richard Storry; Clarke, Irwin; pp. 335; \$5.75.

People in all parts of the world have been profoundly affected by the plots, intrigues and incidents which bedevilled the history of Japan in the 1930's and it is time that we had a reliable account of these almost incredible occurrences. Mr. Storry's book provides that account.

It is easy — and, of course, true — to say that events in Japan were dominated by the hard economic facts which constituted Japan's food and population problem. It is also common knowledge that Japanese foreign policy was conditioned by the polity of that country where it was heresy to suggest that the Emperor was an organ of the state or to believe that citizen or soldier owed any loyalty to the people or even to the state. To quote Mr. Storry, "It cannot be denied that strong nationalist feeling had a religious sanction for the mass of the Japanese people."

Very obviously, then, the stage was set for momentous developments. It was not so obvious that the foreign policy of Japan would be the outcome not of the debates of politicians, not of the wisdom of elder statesmen, not even of the wishes of the Emperor but of the comparative skill in conspiracy and in the technique of assassination of various groups of ultra-nationalists, the "double patriots" as Mr. Storry calls them.

In a sense the double patriots were sincere. Devotion to the Emperor could justify to their consciences the most violent attacks on supposed traitors — the capitalists, the administrators, the political parties and the *genro* — whom they considered responsible for the grinding poverty of the people. The traditions of the heroic age, notably the exploit of the forty-seven *ronin* lent glamor to their deeds and enabled them to recruit, we should perhaps say exploit, simple-minded patriots.

It was touch and go at times how policy would be affected. Japanese expansion overseas was probably inevitable. It may even have been forced on Japan by the policies of other powers. But the direction of the expansion was not inevitable. "Had Araki and Mazaki been able to maintain a dominant position in the army there is little doubt that the direction of military activity would have been turned not towards China but towards Siberia." Japan, that is, might easily have attacked the U.S.S.R. rather than China and might even have attacked the United States before the outbreak of war in Europe. In either event the course of world history would have been other than it was and the political state of Asia, and indeed of Europe as well, might be very different from what it is today.

The importance of Mr. Storry's book is that it establishes these facts by a scholarly analysis, well documented and well indexed, of the plots and intrigues, an analysis which explains their influence on the policy of Japan. The record is fantastic but, when told in detail, convincing. The general reader may find a chronicle of conspiracies — of which more failed than succeeded — somewhat bewildering. But it is a good thing that the history of the period should be accessible in so compact a form. The psychology and the outlook of the double patriots may be strange to us. Mr. Storry's book offers us a reasonable explanation.

I. H. Angus.

#### PARNELL & HIS PARTY 1880-90: Conor Cruise O'Brien; Oxford; pp. 373; \$6.75.

There is no lack of books dealing with the fascinating topic of Parnell and the Home Rule movement in the 1880's, as Mr. O'Brien's admirable bibliography quickly shows. Many of the Irish participants wrote about it at length, long official biographies have dealt with the part played by most of the English leaders and at least eleven books have been written about Parnell himself. The most satisfactory work in this field up to now has been J. L. Hammond's monumental *Gladstone and the Irish Nation* (1938), a book to which O'Brien perhaps pays too little attention. His own study, however, complements rather than duplicates Hammond's, since it focuses on the Irish side of the story. His comprehensive, well organized and well documented account is based largely on printed sources, but he does make limited use of a number of manuscript collections (Dillon, Davitt, Harrington, Gladstone and others); oddly, there is no mention of the existence or non-existence of any Parnell Papers. Excellent use is made of the contemporary press, especially *Freeman's Journal*, the leading Irish nationalist paper.

One might describe Mr. O'Brien's approach as objectively sympathetic. He gives a well balanced account of the Irish party's history in this momentous decade with due attention to the part played by the personalities of the leader and

his lieutenants. His most valuable and original contribution, however, is in his penetrating analysis of the composition and organization of the party itself, in which he follows the best modern techniques. His various tables show that while in the successive elections of 1874, 1880 and 1885 the membership of the Irish party undoubtedly became more democratic, nevertheless it retained a larger upper class (potentially conservative) element than has been generally supposed. Parnell never had full control of the sixty alleged Home Rulers elected in 1880, but during the next five years he made himself the unchallenged leader of the Irish people and in the Nationalist League founded in 1882 he perfected a party electoral machinery that on the new franchise ensured the return of 86 nationalists, all of them pledged beforehand, with the ominous exception of Captain O'Shea. During the period of consolidation Parnell showed his political genius by the sure, shrewd way in which he balanced the left and the right, always capitalizing on the mistakes of his opponents. "Parnell," O'Brien writes, "directed a movement of revolutionary inspiration, from within a relatively conservative and constitutional party."

Parnell's temporary desertion of the liberals in 1885 is easily explained. Since 1882 the Irish had got little from them except coercion, thanks to Whig influence in the party, and there was a conservative element among the Irish who might find the aristocratic Tory Anglican more congenial than the non-conformist or rationalist liberal radical. Parnell's action called the Tory bluff and precipitated Gladstone's decision in favor of home rule. This in turn produced the Liberal alliance, which Parnell championed strongly until the tragic divorce issue which brought all his handiwork tumbling down on his head and left his party bitterly divided for a decade after.

Mr. O'Brien gives a detailed and dispassionate account of the divorce crisis, which makes Parnell's lack of judgment on this one occasion all too clear. The Irish episcopacy, it appears, were slow to condemn him and it was Gladstone's action rather than theirs which precipitated the rejection of Parnell's leadership by the majority of his parliamentary followers. Indeed O'Brien notes that in the famous debate in Committee Room Fifteen it was the Protestant rather than the Catholic members of the party who were inclined to raise the moral issue. Throughout the book the relationship between the party and the Church is treated frankly and fairly, in particular the ticklish moral problem posed by the "Plan of Campaign", which the nationalist archbishops of Dublin and Cashel approved but which was later condemned by the papacy.

In conclusion it may be noted C. C. O'Brien's *Parnell and His Party 1880-90* and F. S. L. Lyons' *The Irish Parliamentary Party 1890-1910* between them provide us with a more thorough knowledge of the Irish Home Rule party than we have of either of the major English parties for this period.

J. B. Conacher.

**GOLDWIN SMITH VICTORIAN LIBERAL:** Elisabeth Wallace; University of Toronto Press; pp. 297; \$5.00.

The business of a critic in a democracy (to put it simply) is to discover and assess the ideas of his times and then to encourage those that seem the best. This was the role which Goldwin Smith marked out for himself in England, the United States and Canada during the last half of the nineteenth century. If as an historian he was shallow, as a journalist too prolific, or as a controversialist too implacable, as a critic he came into his own. Miss Wallace has written a careful and absorbing study of the great Manchester School liberal, concentrating her attention upon his not-uneventful life and the range of his thought.

On the whole her sketch of the period in which Smith lived and wrote is neatly done, although she falls into the common error of pre-dating the swing from anti-imperial sentiment to imperialism. It is surely wrong, also, to say that Canadians were less concerned than Smith about the constitutional limitations on their sovereignty and that they did not begin to demand the right to make their own treaties until after the Alaska boundary award. Prominent Canadians in both the political parties labored in these fields during Goldwin Smith's lifetime. However, these are minor reflections on what is a most valuable book.

Miss Wallace is not ashamed to expose the contradictions in Smith's thought. Although he favored independence for Canada, he opposed Home Rule for Ireland and supported British control in India. Although he disapproved of parties and partisanship, he gave active encouragement to the Canada First movement in the eighteen seventies. He failed entirely to appreciate the strength of French-Canadian nationalism, yet he was a staunch friend of Henri Bourassa. On other occasions he was blind to the realities of his age. To the end of his life he possessed an unshakeable early Victorian faith in free trade as a nostrum for the world's ills; he was unable to sense the developing Canadianism of the late nineteenth century; and he deprecated the existence of the essential sectional interests and the understanding between the races in Canada. He did not comprehend what might be called the Commonwealth idea, although Macdonald and Blake did, and he badly misunderstood the United States after the Civil War if he considered that it exemplified a *laissez-faire* state.

Yet so many of Goldwin Smith's comments were pertinent and perceptive. Miss Wallace rightly calls attention to his faith in the basic similarity of aims of the English-speaking peoples and his hopes for the creation of a North Atlantic community. Was it Bismarck who once stated that the fact the American people spoke English represented the major determinant of the nineteenth century? It was probably the only point upon which Goldwin Smith would have agreed with Bismarck. Smith argued for a more representative House of Lords in England (life peers?) and for a reform of the Canadian Senate. He spoke of the debilitating colonial mentality of Canadians of his generation. His work in university reform, both in Oxford and Toronto, was notable, although in a country facing the prospect of gargantuan universities it might be questioned whether his uncompromising statement that a small university will result in inferior education, is valid.

Goldwin Smith's writing was lively and often witty, as the illustrations in Miss Wallace's book confirm. His remark about the office of governor-general is famous: "Religious Canada prays each Sunday that (he) may govern well, on the understanding that heaven will never be so unconstitutional as to grant her prayer" (p. 234). Less well-known is his acid observation to Andrew Carnegie on the dangers of novels in public libraries: "A novel library is to women mentally pretty much what the saloon is physically to men" (p. 101). On the South African War, which he profoundly disliked, he wrote, "To appreciate the full moral beauty of the war fever, you should see it in a colony" (p. 199). It is to be hoped that some Canadian publisher will commission Miss Wallace to make a selection of Smith's writings from the *Bystander* and the *Week* and other magazines; they represent a high moment in Canadian political journalism, as she points out. By the same token, is it not time for a reprint, with a good introduction, of that classic in annexationist advocacy, *Canada and the Canadian Question*?

In looking over the titles of Miss Wallace's chapters, one is struck with the few gaps in Smith's interests as a

critic. Science did not appear to concern him and he was not forward in defending the humanistic tradition against the attacks of people like Huxley. However the other burning issues of his age—socialism, imperialism, the position of labour, commercial policy, democracy and culture—were all grist to his mill. In religion he was a questioning, if not a deep, thinker. Prof. Malcolm Ross has shown us that much of Goldwin Smith's cast of mind was formed by his loss of religious faith at an early age: *vide* Smith's appreciation for *In Memoriam*. Prof. Ross's brilliant essay on Smith's intellectual development should be read in conjunction with Miss Wallace's chapter IX.

In the end we must assess Goldwin Smith as an articulate and representative early Victorian, although not a critic in the same rank as Matthew Arnold or Taine. The main reason, I think, is that Smith was not sufficiently disinterested. He felt on so many matters that he must apply his criticism; that he must engage in earthly struggles for earthly objectives. Thus he worked for Canadian independence, for Commercial Union, for annexation, for the development of a reputable journalism in Canada, etc. It was Arnold himself who claimed that true criticism must eschew the temptations of practical reform. Criticism must refuse, he said, "to lend itself to any of those ulterior, political practical considerations about ideas, which plenty of people will be sure to attach to them . . . but which criticism has really nothing to do with." In his failure to heed these words of a greater contemporary Goldwin Smith revealed himself as a lesser critic. Yet he added much to the Canadian scene, establishing a tradition of independent comment which, if it has had few exponents in Canada of his capacity, is none the less an essential element in any civilized society.

D. M. L. Farr.

**DRUGS AND THE MIND:** Robert S. de Ropp; Macmillan of Canada; pp. 287; \$4.50.

Our materialistic age is having such notable success in controlling nature, that it is not surprising that we should tackle the problems of Mind with the tools of Chemistry. Such is the undertaking of this book. The author, Robert S. de Ropp, is a research biochemist with an American drug house. His style is colorful and clear, well suited for the presentation of such a subject to the lay reader.

In practically every age and land, man has found plants which will alter his perceptions, his feelings or his behavior. Often these practices have been associated with religious observances, and in our culture most are considered illegal and immoral. The effects of opium, mescaline and marihuana are here described in the words of those who have tried them, and we may be grateful in this regard for the curiosity of such literary men as Aldous Huxley, Thomas de Quincey and Havelock Ellis. The suggestion is made that we are confusing sin and crime in regard to drugs and that we are only creating problems by our present legal attitudes. This suggestion is based on evidence which might easily be convincing, were it not so heretical.

Recently drugs have appeared to change the picture in regard to the treatment of the mentally ill. We can stimulate, sedate, cheer, or tranquillize at will, and the hospital stay of many a patient has been shortened. Other drugs will cause transient states of madness, and are, therefore, useful tools for studying the chemistry of mental illness. Many psychiatrists to-day would agree with our author that we expect a major breakthrough in the fertile field of chemistry to cure mental illness.

If drugs will allay anxiety, affect motivation, and produce happiness, what will become of moral responsibility? The author quotes from Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*—

"all the advantages of Christianity and alcohol, none of their drawbacks". He resolves these difficulties, however, and points to the "supreme task which confronts our age: how to reach spiritual maturity before we destroy ourselves".

B. A. Boyd.

#### WHAT DOES THE WEST WANT? A STUDY OF POLITICAL GOALS: George Catlin; J. M. Dent & Sons; pp. 150; \$2.25.

There can be few themes more timely and indeed urgent than that dealt with by the Bronfman Professor of Political Theory at McGill University in this provocative little volume. *What does the West Want?* is an extended version of the Weil Lectures delivered in the University of North Carolina earlier this year. Though published in the pre-Sputnik era, it is concerned with the problems of gutless leadership, political complacency and spiritual deadness which have since stirred us to an agonizing reappraisal of Western civilization.

The fundamental issue the author poses is that of peaceful coexistence of different social systems. Here one hopeful possibility presents itself — or did at the time of writing, before Zhukov's eclipse. There are, we are told, "few prospects of lasting peace brighter than that of a Thermidorian accession to power of the Red Army", for "its aims, though not small, are yet limited". Such a development however is, he correctly prophesies, improbable so long as the existing regime is successful. And successful it has been. Professor Catlin ridicules as "comfortable opiate words" the soothing assurances of Dr. Vannevar Bush that Communist totalitarianism is "fatal to true progress in fundamental science" and castigates the West for its arrogant assumption that the Slavs are an incompetent race. He asserts quite categorically not only that "the scientists of the Soviet dictatorship seem to be capable of overhauling those of the democratic West", but that "they are actually doing it". Time is not necessarily on the side of the free world.

But the real threat to Western civilization is not so much military as ideological. It is not a question of the Soviet Union lacking the power to subdue the West or having the scruples to shrink from war. It is simply that the Marx-Leninism of Khrushchev, the most dynamic idea of our times, offers the prospect of isolating the West by quiet subversion without resort to open aggression — or the risk of retaliation. Once this has been accomplished, it will be a comparatively easy matter to compel our final submission by a judicious rattling of rockets. Those who think that we would never knuckle under without a fight ought to ponder the awful consequences of resistance, futile resistance, and consequently the strength which an appeal to Vichyism would have.

For the present, the struggle is taking the form of a battle for men's minds — a phrase coined by Professor Catlin and later appropriated by President Truman. And so far the battle is going badly. The West has signally failed to show that it has any clear idea of what its political values and goals are or even any real participation of the pressing need to clarify the present confusion. And it is still a long way from offering a convincing alternative to Communism to (say) the Indonesians. Moreover, our case is greatly weakened by our record on colonialism and racialism. Although no naive idealist, no simple anti-colonial, Professor Catlin is acutely aware of the price we are paying for our refusal to face up to these issues. With commendable courage for one addressing a Southern audience, he comes down uncompromisingly in opposition to racial discrimination wherever it is practiced, not so much on grounds of equality, as of fraternity. This, in his view, is "the great issue of our day". If the free world fails to rid itself of racial arrogance, "then it will perish

before Soviet propaganda. And, moreover, will deserve to perish." The racialists are the enemies of the human race and of civilization.

There is much more in this book which is both stimulating and disturbing. It is chock full of apt phrases, incisive comments and sound judgments. It would be particularly unfortunate, therefore, if readers were deterred from persevering to the end by the author's somewhat tortuous style and patent immodesty. The wealth of allusions to other writers is impressive, but the frequent references to conversations with world figures, to his own earlier works and to the praises showered upon him by others, detracts from the force of his richly rewarding message.

Professor Catlin has challenged us to revitalize our faith and reexamine the political choices which lie ahead. "We cannot long", he warns, "remain in competition against those who know their minds, if we do not." Like Adlai Stevenson, he realizes that if Western civilization is to save its body, it must also save its soul. "What the West wants", he concludes, "is a Saint Joan."

*Douglas G. Anglin.*

### Letters

**EXTINCT LANGUAGES:** Johannes Friederich, translated from the German by Frank Gaynor; Philosophical Library; pp. x, 182; \$5.00.

The current demand for popular books about the earliest civilizations seems to be insatiable, and has led to the reprinting of many English and American best-sellers as well as to the translation into English of many more. A recent editorial in *Archaeology* (Summer 1957) issues the following warning to the general reader: "Even though archaeology is all about 'dead civilizations' it is a field in which things move fast. If a book published as long as twenty or even ten years ago has not been thoroughly revised, the reader is more than likely to be misled. We recommend that when choosing a book the purchaser look for the date of first printing."

The book under review is subject to this warning, and the omission of the original date of publication is reprehensible. The reader may be reassured, however. The original work (*Entzifferung verschollener Schriften und Sprachen*) was published in 1954. It concerns the decipherment of the extinct scripts and languages of the Old World, and is the first and only book to discuss this subject as a whole. In spite of important developments during the intervening three years it is likely to remain a valuable summary, and the translation is adequate and complete. Johannes Friederich is a distinguished Hittitologist and Assyriologist, a professor at the Free University of Berlin, and the editor of the Hittite Dictionary. He has, therefore, intimate first-hand knowledge of most of the scripts and languages about which he

writes. The various problems encountered and the various methods employed are clearly set forth during the narrative of each decipherment, while they receive systematic treatment in a whole section devoted to the principles of methodology. It is this emphasis on theory that gives the book its peculiar and lasting value.

We are introduced to the various clues for decipherment, simple in themselves and only ingenious in their disciplined application. There are, for example, the blank space that indicates direction of writing; the conventions for word separation; the recognition of words (as such) through repetition of sign sequences, when no separation exists; the recognition of the alphabetic, syllabic or ideographic character of a given script through the total number of its signs; the identification of words (particularly proper names and names of designated objects) by external association; the identification of individual sign-values through combined inferences from known words; and the bilingual texts, which immensely simplify the decipherment but which are not by any means always available. The various decipherments are classified, moreover, according to whether the problem is an unknown language in a known script (e.g. Etruscan), a known language in an unknown script (e.g. Cypriot Greek), or an unknown language in an unknown script (e.g. Egyptian). In principle, it is much easier to decipher an alphabetic script than a syllabic and ideographic script.

This and other points are particularly well demonstrated in the fascinating account of cuneiform: the decipherment of the Akkadian cuneiform script and language through the intermediate decipherment of the much later and linguistically unrelated cuneiform of Old Persian; the translation of Sumerian, written in Akkadian cuneiform but already a dead language to the ancient Babylonians through whom it has survived; the subsequent translation or interpretation of Hittite, Hurrian and other non-Semitic languages which adopted Akkadian cuneiform with the spread of Babylonian civilization; and finally, the decipherment of Ugaritic cuneiform, which was so rapidly achieved on account of its alphabetic character and its close linguistic relationship to Hebrew. All these scripts (Ugaritic, perhaps only to the extent of borrowing the clay tablet and stylus) owe their existence ultimately to the Sumerians. They invented writing at the end of the fourth millennium B.C., at approximately the same time as an entirely different, and perhaps completely independent, system of writing first appeared in Egypt.

Considerable space is devoted to the decipherment of the Hittite hieroglyphic script, which is a long and interesting story although the language has proved to be relatively unimportant. The script was deciphered in its essentials before the discovery of a bilingual text which, in fact, served to prove the correctness of the inferences that had been drawn from the hieroglyphs through the study of internal clues.

Before the decipherment of Egyptian could be explained it was necessary to describe the principles of the script itself in some detail, on account of its complexity and unfamiliarity. The Egyptian section is the only part of the book that the reviewer is in the least equipped to check for accuracy. If this part is unsatisfactory in a few minor respects the authority of the rest of the book should not be questioned. Egyptology is a discipline apart from the rest of ancient Near Eastern studies, although Egypt's relations with her northern neighbours are essential to the proper understanding of both areas. The Egyptian writing does not easily fit into rigid classifications, and some of this section is slightly misleading. For example, the dual value, ideographic and phonetic, of individual signs is not adequately explained, and

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ideograms, phonograms and "determinatives" are treated as distinct and of equal importance. Some of the few specific errors, which need not bother the general reader, are in the translation, as when the Egyptian sign having the phonetic value *ms* is called "frond" instead of "tails". In his general remarks about Egyptian civilization Friederich mentions religion, architecture, science, mathematics and medicine, but strangely enough omits the painting and relief sculpture which were so closely related to Egyptian writing. When commenting upon the limited range of Egyptian writing compared with Akkadian cuneiform he may not have sufficiently taken into consideration the durability of the clay tablets and the perishability of the papyrus rolls.

Anyone who wishes to delve into the difficult but immediately rewarding study of Egyptian hieroglyphic writing is referred to Alan Gardiner's *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford University Press). Its introduction gives a far more accurate and equally readable account of the Egyptian scripts, their history and decipherment, and the history of Egyptian philology.

A useful account of the decipherment of Meroitic script (Nubian of the Roman period) is included under the Egyptian section since it is closely related to the Egyptian hieroglyphic script. Meroitic, however, is alphabetic. Although the phonetic values of all the signs are known, the language remains untranslated, except for a few proper names. Among other "minor decipherments" discussed are the still more hotly disputed translation of Etruscan (written in a script derived from the Greek). Regarding the latter, the author cautions against drawing inferences from phonetic similarities to other languages, and stresses the necessity of working from clues in the scanty texts themselves. Of the scripts that were classed as undeciphered in the original edition of this book the Indus Valley script, the Carian script and the Minoan hieroglyphic script still resist all efforts. Two others have yielded remarkable results.

When the original German edition was in press the decipherment of Mycenaean Linear B was accomplished, a script of the fifteenth century B.C. revealing the earliest known Greek dialect. (Michael Ventris and John Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek: 300 Selected Tablets from Knossos, Pylos and Mycenae with Commentary and Vocabulary*, Cambridge University Press, 1956). A brief account of this decipherment is contained in an appendix to the translation, which is thereby rendered more useful than the original. It may be of special interest to Canadians that a full and authoritative discussion of Linear B has recently appeared in a Canadian journal (Rhys Carpenter, "Linear B", in *The Phoenix*, Summer 1957).

A partial and tentative decipherment of the Minoan script known as "Linear A" has been claimed within the last few months. According to this suggestion "Linear A", which has long been recognized as related to and earlier than "Linear B", embodies a Semitic dialect (Cyrus H. Gordon, in *Antiquity*, September 1957).

That the Sinai script must now be classed as fully deciphered seems clear in the light of fresh inscriptions discovered since 1948 (W. F. Albright, in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 110, 1948). It is an alphabetic linear script of about 1600 B.C. embodying a Semitic language, and apparently inspired by Egyptian hieroglyphic writing. The later Canaanite-Phoenician script, ancestor of Hebrew, Greek and our own writing system, is derived from it or from a closely related script. Gardiner's earlier work with the Sinai inscriptions is now vindicated. A series of undeciphered linear scripts from Palestine provides a stylistic (palaeographic) bridge between the Sinai script and the known Canaanite-Phoenician, and thus further evidence for the relationship. These Palestinian scripts were

known long before the original publication of *Entzifferung*. Had Friederich recognized the decipherment of the Sinai script he might have included palaeography, the systematic study and comparison of the forms of ancient writing, among the clues that he has so clearly and dramatically described.

Winifred Needler.

NOT BY BREAD ALONE: V. Dudintsev; Nelson, Foster & Scott Ltd.; pp. vii, 447; \$3.95.

*Not By Bread Alone* created a sensation. Yet in a literary sense it is not a sensational work. It is well-written, but not brilliant. It does not mark a departure from the long established traditions of socialist realism. The work follows one of its main postulates, that of presenting "reality in the process of becoming". Even the darker aspects of this reality are only in the author's own words "the birth pangs of a new world, in which there is no injustice". This world is presumably being born.

So far there is nothing illegitimate about Dudintsev's work, except perhaps that the birth pangs are rather numerous. After all, criticism of contemporary issues, though exceedingly rare, was never banned from Soviet literature. The important thing was to show evil in the proper perspective, so that it would not overshadow goodness. Evil was usually attributed to the so-called anti-social elements, individuals who failed to identify themselves with the victorious masses. These individuals, the rotten bourgeoisie or the decadent dreamers, had to be portrayed in literature alongside with the more positive types for didactic purposes. Literature was to show that their aims were mistaken, their courses wrong and their ends sad.

In Dudintsev's novel, for the first time, it is the individual and not the community, who is right. In this lies its great novelty. This statement needs a qualification. Lopatkin, though in many ways resembling the decadent dreamer is not in opposition to the community but rather detached from it. He does not associate himself with any officially recognised body and chooses a lonely course not wishing to be relieved of his burden at the price of his freedom. He cherishes most his individual right to creative work and does not wish to become a member of any team. This peculiarity constitutes his weakness and his strength. He meets many obstacles and treacheries, he has to struggle alone supported only by the women who love him, but in the end his invention is accepted. The message of the novel is hopeful to a degree. Truly creative work is bound to win recognition, even though its creator may perish in the effort of winning it.

Lopatkin's arch-enemy Drozdov represents the collective forces of society. Strong-headed and hard-working, though not endowed with Lopatkin's imagination, he is a perfect member of the team, ready to lead and ready to take orders. For him any action unauthorised by the society, even though directed towards its good, is unjustifiable. Between the Champions of individualism and of collectivism stands Nadya, wife of one and mistress of the other. Her gradual awakening when she begins to see Drozdov's limitations and the virtues of Lopatkin may be of wider symbolic significance. In her the author might have meant to portray Russian society at large, passive but not dull, whose eyes begin to open. Perhaps today's Lopatkines will be tomorrow's heroes: men who have courage to express themselves in work whether this work wins immediate approval or not; men who know the value of, and the need for creation.

These men obviously do not fit into the existing frame of the communist state with its emphasis on collectivism. If their rehabilitation is to mark the beginning of a new era, this era will be different from what its Soviet prophets deem it to be.

Danuta Bienkowska.

**THE BLASTED PINE: AN ANTHOLOGY OF SATIRE, INVECTIVE, AND DISRESPECTFUL VERSE:**  
F. R. Scott and A. J. M. Smith, eds.; Macmillan;  
pp. 138; \$3.50.

Here is a collection of Canadian poetry that an intelligent human being — Canadian or not — can read with pleasure, with respect, and with an unearned increment of intellectual stimulus. Scott and Smith, the two poets who wafted the first currents of twentieth century poetry to Canada's "barren waste", far back in the radical thirties, have returned to the task in the conservative fifties to direct our critical values again in a new direction. This book refines a harder metal out of the Canadian nation than most critics have been accustomed to quarry — namely satire. In poetry and prose satire has been with us from the beginning of our history, but we have come to value it specifically only within the last fifteen years or so. What this collection defines will now be easier to display and recount.

It is a book of high humour, of some low farce, of much light verse, and of a certain quantity of serious indignation. The division of poems into handy subject groups is fine for this book — since satire does deal with objective realities — where the same treatment is usually objectionable for imaginative poetry. The roughly chronological arrangement of poems in each section, and in general the comparison of our older and newer satirists, will lead to interesting reflections upon social history, cultural growth, and the conditions under which poets live and write.

The interesting question, of course, is what moves Canadian poets so characteristically to write satire and to anthologize it. In a letter to John Sutherland, editor of *Northern Review*, in 1947, I remember saying that the only good poetry one can imagine on Canadian subjects would be satire. Certainly, any idealized view of Canadian life would be as much a laughing matter as comic verse — and it usually is. The motive for Canadian satire lies not only in the barrenness and the waste, but in the traditions of which this country is composed.

We have inherited from the United States the non-revolutionary Loyalists who laid the groundwork for our "traditional" poetry and our moral-religious attitudes. We have inherited from France the non-revolutionary culture of Quebec and the Roman Catholicism which preserves it intact. Canada, therefore, has not undergone the French Revolution in its Quebec history; and it has not undergone the American Revolution and the break with British cultural paternalism in its English traditions. Its poets and writers, being the gadflies that Plato knew all poets to be, find every motive and cue for satire in their country; they are the spokesmen for those "radical" sentiments which aim to free us from archaic moorings, which find us ridiculously backward in our loyalties, which would bring us into relation with the outer world, of modern France, and of America. Our poets, also, often limit themselves in trying to bring about the Revolution at this late date, when poetry elsewhere is concerned with deeper and more pressing issues of the moment.

This last point brings us to a possible evaluation of the kind of satire contained in Smith and Scott's anthology. Satire is a form of denigration achieved by bringing its object into comparison with a superior frame of reference. It is differentiated by the frame of reference used: mainly as to whether the satirist is committed to the society he depicts, or not. The former kind is satire of a lower intensity; it deteriorates into light verse. We have in this category Alex Glendinning, Standish O'Grady, Stephen Leacock, and in fact too many of the poems of this book — though one need not give offense by naming the living

examples. A higher form of satire results when the poet stands entirely outside his society and looks at his pygmies from an imaginative or moral height.

A good many of our modern poets achieve this latter kind of vision, derived from their non-satirical poetic process. In general, Canadian satire has moved from avuncular jokes at minor Victorian shrines to Swiftian *sæva indignatio*, a progress in depth if not in personal adjustment. (Several good poets, it may be noted, do not appear at all — notably Dorothy Livesay — though they have written serious social poetry.) When the Canadian poet is still quarreling with the eighteenth century in Canada, he is likely to limit his perceptions, since his own advanced position is likely to be somewhat behind the times. When he relates Canadian life to a wider cosmopolitan frame of reference, his comment is likely to carry more weight.

In any case, Scott and Smith bring the American Revolution to Canada, so far as our poetry has been able to express that necessary act of revolt. Their transvaluation moves in the direction of political rationalism, of democracy, and of cultural independence. And at its highest level it is satire that makes Canada only a minor instance of the universal stupidity of man — even of life's absurdity. I leave the reader to discover the latter kinds of poetry in this book for himself.

Louis Dudek

**THE CLUB:** Andrew Graham; Macmillan; pp. 246; \$3.00.

This is a gently amusing book of interest to Englishmen of the retired army officer type and those who know them and like them. It is about London's Clubland, that softly fading world where until World War II no female disturbed the sanctity of the True Blue Club, and Lord Blowberry, a scrub peer, after handing his umbrella to the porter, was smiled upon by the Venus who commanded the stately stairway (with a clock in her stomach). Mr. Graham, a proper Englishman and military attache at Beirut, has written this for those who like their humour quiet and Punch-like.

HTK

**MUSIC ON A KAZOO:** Irving Layton; Contact Press; pp. 59; \$2.00.

If I interpret the title correctly one is not to blame these poems for not producing the more noble and complicated sound effects heard on other Canadian instruments. A kazoo is something you buy in a box of popcorn; in order to play it all you need to know how to do is hum. These poems — violently satirical, deliberately vulgar and often very funny — are for the kazoo.

Actually, even with the poems written straight from the libido one can't help thinking of a very fast Horace or Catulus or Juvenal. Sabine farm, Lesbia and suppurating imperial capital become bathroom, quick bedding wench and stupid suburb respectively. Lines like "Behind her back gleam the silex cups:/helmets of the defunct Wilhelm" and "near a mound the derelict garden hose/Is coiled cobra-like, digesting the heat" are brilliant representatives of another instrument that Mr. Layton can play. He doesn't play it very often in this collection but perhaps one is sufficiently affected by what there is here; the outrageous sex and bouncing satire could certainly never be called dull. Mr. Layton reminds me of Mae West. When she said in *My Little Chickadee*, "I always avoid temptation unless I can't resist it," one was aware of an awfully clever comic talent which took the idea of the demimonde siren and riddled it with delightful parody. Similarly, Mr. Layton takes the sex situation so wrapped up in serious pornography, science, Solomon and D. H. Lawrence — takes it and makes it into something that never was it, something mad and amusing.

James Reaney.

**JOSEPH CONRAD: ACHIEVEMENT AND DECLINE:**  
Thomas Moser; Reginald Saunders; pp. 212; \$4.50.  
**THOMAS WOLFE'S CHARACTERS:** Floyd C. Watkins;  
Burns & MacEachern; pp. 194; \$5.00.

Two irritating and unsatisfactory books. Mr. Moser psycho-analyzes Conrad's books and finds the author in a bad way; Mr. Watkins burrows in the Asheville newspaper files and leaves his author in a worse one. Conrad emerges like a Toynbee civilization in decline, his later books forever breaking and exhausting themselves in a sterile and sick response to the challenge of sexual love which worsted them even in the stage of Conrad's growth, but even at that he comes out from the contest with his critic in better condition than Wolfe, for Mr. Moser is at least concerned with Conrad's books as books (for part of the distance, anyhow). Finding, as the dust-jacket says, "the seeds of Conrad's decline in the heart of the early novels themselves," Mr. Moser's book remains primarily concerned with what is wrong artistically with the author's books, and only secondarily (though with still uncomfortable prominence) with what is wrong psychologically with the books' author. But there is inevitable confusion between them, and the result leads to a vision of Conrad as a second-rate author quarrying over and over the same inadequate area of experience and rather dishonestly pretending to do something else, which seems, to say the least, an inadequate judgment.

Mr. Watkins passes the same verdict, at length, and as if it were high praise, on Wolfe. "There are many more than 300 characters and places mentioned by name or described in *Look Homeward, Angel*," he writes. "I have been able to identify with some accuracy about 250." The rest of the book is of the expected badness, and a great temptation to nasty remarks. What does one do with a book that sets itself a silly task and pursues it with complacent indefatigability to no purpose? "There is incontrovertible evidence," he adds, "that Wolfe knew that his first novel was autobiographical." This howler is followed by a kind of magpie collection of brilliant baubles of research. But by the time one finishes with Mr. Watkins' industrious discoveries of satiric purpose in the disguising of real names by fictitious ones—satire discoverable only by perusing the Asheville newspaper files *et cetera*, or by digesting this evidence of it that he has dragged into the critical living-room like a proud cat with a newly-mangled mouse—and by the time one has finished the rest of his hundred and eighty pages of similar activity, one can only wonder with a kind of weary disgust at the point of it all. Is criticism so sick that stuff like this must pass?

D. J. Knight.

**THE DESERT DAISY:** H. G. Wells; published by Beta Phi Mu, 1957; printed in facsimile.

From the preface of this little book one learns that the University of Illinois owns the H. G. Wells manuscripts. It is to marvel, though, at how the illustrated and hand-written copy pages of this story, written by Wells at the age of fourteen and never before published, survived the years. Either the author, or someone close to him, was truly methodical.

The preface also tells us that Beta Phi Mu, the national library science honorary fraternity, when founded in 1949, "in addition to the organization's primary purpose of recognizing academic achievement in library science," also decided to "be concerned with all aspects of booklore, literature, and libraries."

This is the society's first book of facsimile printing and it is an excellent bit of bookmaking; a book that anyone interested in fine printing, or book collecting, should be proud to own.

Possibly more to be considered as a printing novelty than as literature, it nevertheless has genuine literary merit. The illustrations show Wells gave promise as an artist as well as a writer, and the satire and broad humor in both text and pictures, quite amazing in one so young, are done here with a boyish gaiety that it could be guessed the author might have been happy to recapture in some of his later books.

Would like to try this book out on an intelligent lad of fourteen. Alas, no boy of fourteen is available.

Stewart Cowan.

**TRAILMAKER: THE STORY OF ALEXANDER MACKENZIE:** Richard S. Lambert; Jacket design and maps by Robert Kunz; McClelland and Stewart; pp. 160; \$2.95.

Mr. Lambert has already published two highly successful books for boys in his *Franklin of the Arctic*, which won the Governor-General's award for juvenile literature and the medal of the Canadian Association of Children's Librarians, and in his *North for Adventure: The story of Samuel Hearne*, which was hardly less admirable. Now he has brought out a book which tells the story of the adventures of Alexander Mackenzie, the first man to cross Canada by land from Atlantic to Pacific.

The story is, of course, not new. Mackenzie's own narrative has been reprinted several times, and several books have been written about his "voyages" of discovery — one of them, the late Mr. Hume Wrong's *Mackenzie*, specifically for young readers. But nothing so vivid as Mr. Lambert's narrative has yet been published. This is perhaps because of the freedom with which Mr. Lambert puts into the mouth of Mackenzie and his associates whole conversations in quotation marks for which there is no historical authority. To a dry-as-dust historian like the present reviewer, this is a practice of doubtful propriety; though it must be confessed that there are not a few popular writers, like Mr. Emil Ludwig, who make use of the device. Perhaps in a book for young people, who are not likely to be too critical, the invention of conversations is defensible, if it makes the narrative more vivid and readable, and provided the substance of the conversations is not at variance with the facts of history; and I must confess that Mr. Lambert has read his sources carefully. I am not sure, however, that he has grasped Alexander Mackenzie's rather unpredictable character. John Fraser, the shrewd Scot who was Simon McTavish's London partner, described Mackenzie as "unsteady"; and there is no doubt that he was a restless sort of person. But perhaps, in a book for boys, it was necessary to depict him as a sort of superman, as in a sense he was.

W. S. Wallace.



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